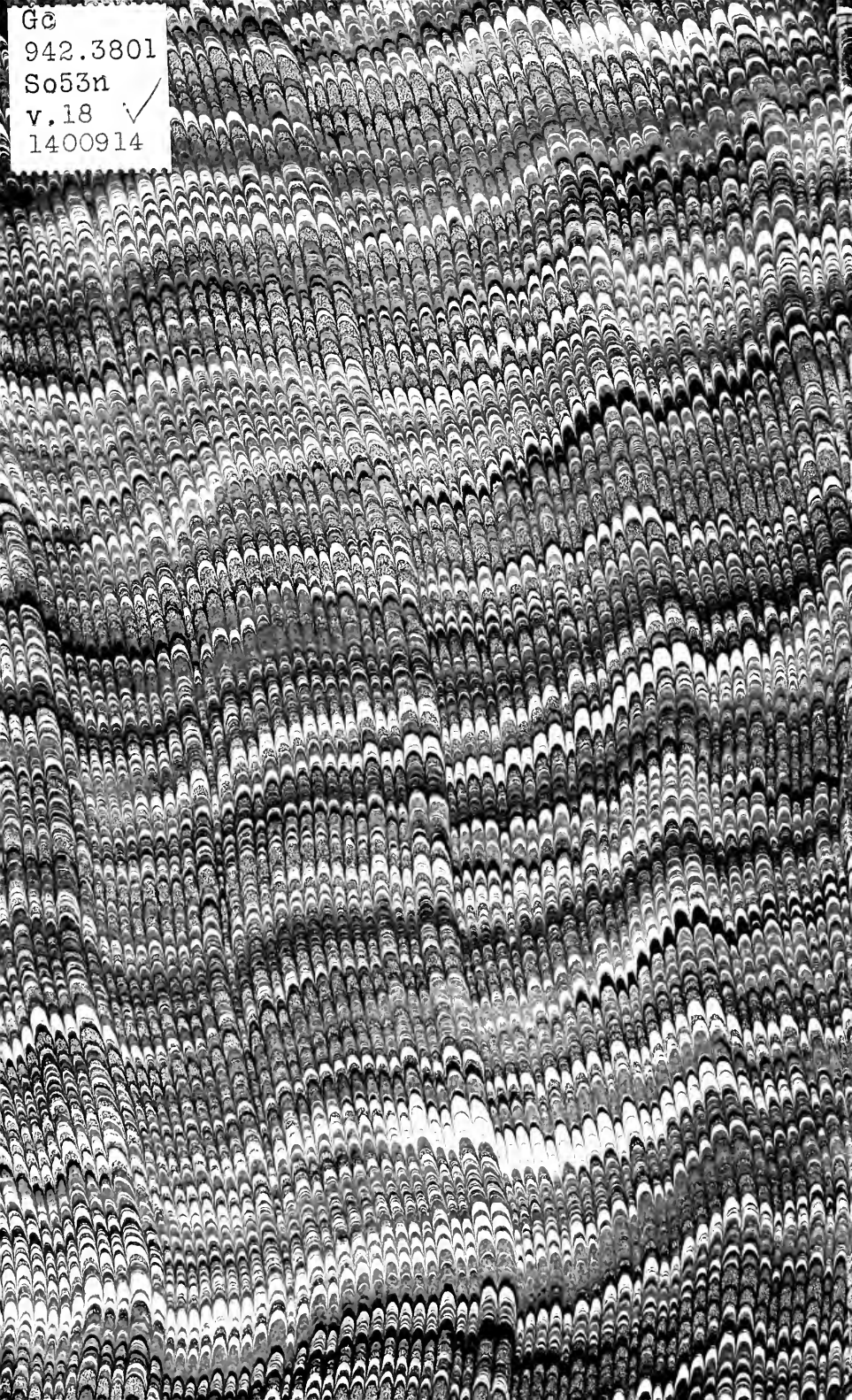


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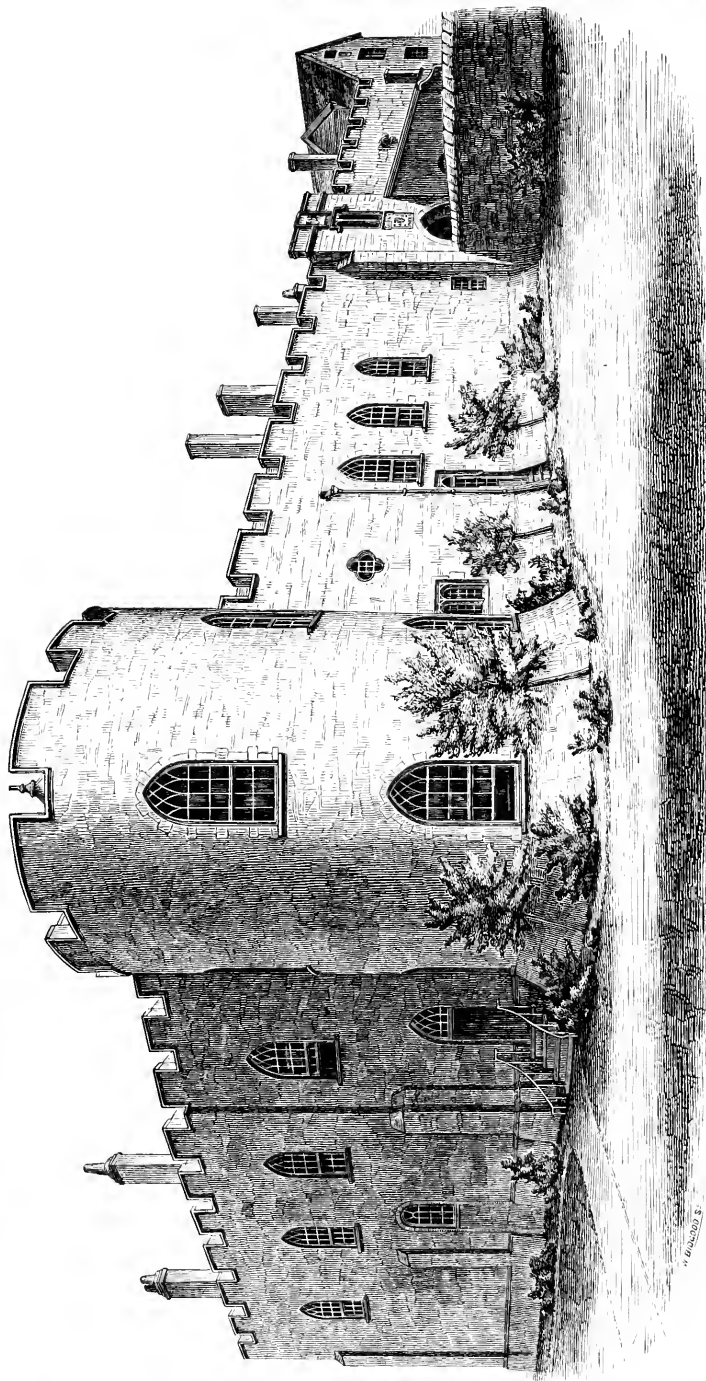
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TAUNTON CASTLE.—South-west View.

SOMERSETSHIRE
ARCHÆOLOGICAL
AND
NATURAL HISTORY
SOCIETY'S PROCEEDINGS,
1872



VOL. XVIII

TAUNTON

FREDERICK MAY, HIGH STREET
LONDON: LONGMANS GREEN READER AND DYER

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Preface.

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The Committee regret that the publication of the present Volume has been so long unavoidably delayed. This has been occasioned by the state of health of one of the principal contributors, which did not admit of his preparing his paper for publication at an earlier date.

The Society have to thank W. E. Surtees, Esq., of Tainfield, for the illustrations of bench-ends from Kingston Church, so characteristic of the county of Somerset; and Mr. C. W. Dymond, C.E., for the Survey of the Camp at Norton Fitzwarren.

The Society are also indebted to the Rev. Thos. Hugo, M.A., for the initial letter of his paper on Hestercombe, and to Mr. Bidgood for the one containing the exchequer chamber and gateway of Taunton Castle.

The Committee are not responsible for any statements or opinions expressed in the different papers.

Since the date of the proceedings now recorded the Society has lost by death the services of one of its Honorary Secretaries, W. A. Jones, Esq. The Committee are sure that the Society at large will join in the regret felt for his loss. Mr. Jones was not only constant in his attention to the interests of the Society as Secretary, but contributed to the volumes of its Proceedings many of their most valuable papers, and latterly was chief editor of the publication.

Museum, Taunton, 14th April, 1874.

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PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND
NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY.

FOR THE YEAR 1872.

THE Twenty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Society was held in the Great Hall of TAUNTON CASTLE, on Tuesday, the 10th September, EDWARD A. FREEMAN, Esq., as President, took the Chair.

On the motion of the Rev. THE PROVOST OF ETON, seconded by R. KING MEADE KING, Esq., William Ayshford Sanford, Esq., was unanimously elected President for the year.

Mr. FREEMAN said he felt great pleasure in giving up the Chair to a man than whom there could be nobody in any way better fitted to fill it. Mr. Sanford bore a name honoured by Somersetshire, and he had shown himself worthy of it.

The Vice-Presidents, the Treasurers, and the Honorary General Secretaries were then re-elected. The following gentlemen were elected on the Committee:—Messrs. Walter Meade King, Thomas Meyler, J. F. Norman, W. P. Pinchard, C. J. Turner, Rev. J. W. Ward. The Local Secretaries, with the addition of Mr. W. Blencoe Sparks, for Crewkerne, were re-elected.

On the motion of Mr. W. ARTHUR JONES, seconded by the PRESIDENT, Mr. William Bidgood was re-elected Curator of the Museum.

Mr. WM. ARTHUR JONES, M.A., Hon. Sec., on behalf of the Council, presented the following Annual Report:—

R E P O R T .

“The Council on this 24th Anniversary of the establishment of the Society have the pleasure to present the following Report:—

In accordance with a resolution passed at the last Annual Meeting of the Society, the Council have appointed a Sub-committee (consisting of the Reverend Canon Meade, Mr. Dickinson, Mr. Batten, Mr. Serel, and the Secretary, Mr. Jones), to take steps, if possible, to obtain an Index and Calendar of the Records of Wells Cathedral for publication.

The Committee desire to express their great obligations to the Dean and Chapter for the courtesy with which this proposal has been received, and to Mr. Bernard, the Chapter Clerk, for the facilities afforded them in the examination of the Records. It is accordingly arranged, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter, that the Indexes to the three principal Record-books of the Chapter should be copied, together with the Cotemporaneous Marginal Abstracts, and that the same be published in the Proceedings of the Society.

The Council likewise appointed a Committee, consisting of the same gentlemen, to co-operate with the promoters of a legislative measure for the protection and preservation of Historical Monuments. A list of the more interesting objects in the county, which would fall under that denomination has been prepared, and Mr. Dickinson with the Secretary, Mr. Jones, had an interview with Sir John Lubbock, with the view of furthering this object.

The proposed Bill for the Preservation of Historical Monuments will probably be introduced during the next Session of Parliament, but as even if it does become law its application will necessarily be very limited, the Council venture to urge upon all the Members of this Society and others the importance and duty of their exercising all the influence they have with the owners and occupiers of property, on which Monuments of interest stand, to secure them from injury and decay.

During the past year considerable progress has been made to collect in the Museum a complete series of Somersetshire birds. It is to be hoped that Members of the Society and their friends will aid this object by the presentation of any rare birds they may possess, and by sending any that may be killed in their neighbourhood as early as possible to Mr. Bidgood, the Curator.

An enlargement of the Museum has been made during the past year in order to obtain space for the suitable arrangement of the varied collection of objects of antiquarian interest and natural history now belonging to the Society. This has been done at a comparatively small cost, and through the courtesy of the proprietors of the Taunton and Somerset Institution, without any addition to the rent.

The Council regret that the Volume of Proceedings

for the year is not yet ready for distribution. The letter-press is finished, but the illustrations for the Volume have not yet been delivered. The Glossary of the Somersetshire Dialect is partly printed, and is making steady progress."

On the motion of COL. PINNEY, seconded by the Rev. CANON MEADE, the report was received and adopted.

The following Financial Statement was presented by Mr. H. J. BADCOCK:—

FINANCIAL REPORT.

The Treasurers in Account with the Somersetshire Archaeological and Natural History Society.

1871.				1871-2.			
August.							
	£	s	d		£	s	d
By Balance of former Account	47	19	10	To Expenses attending Annual Meeting, Advertising, &c.	19	4	1
„ Subscriptions	179	0	0	„ New Cases, Repairs, &c. ...	57	18	8
„ Entrance Fees	10	10	0	„ Stationery, Printing, &c. ...	4	13	11
„ Excursion Tickets	12	0	0	„ Coal, Gas, &c.	9	17	4
„ Papworth's Armorial (part subscription refunded)...	1	1	0	„ Mr. May, balance of account for printing Vol. XVI. ...	7	19	6
„ Balance from Warre Memorial Fund	3	15	3	„ Ditto, on account of Vol. XVII.	40	0	0
„ Museum Admission Fees...	18	15	11	„ Illustrations, Photographs, &c.	22	3	0
				„ Curator's Salary (1 year, to August 3, 1872)	37	10	0
				„ Rent (1 year, to Midsummer 1872	30	0	0
				„ Insurance		7	6
				„ Phelps' History of Somerset Subscription to Harleian Society, 4 years, at £1 1s. and 10s. 6d. entrance ...	4	14	6
				„ Ditto, to Palæontographical Society, for 1872	1	1	0
				„ Ditto, to Ray Society, 1872 ...	1	1	0
				„ Postage of Volume of Proceedings	3	10	9
				„ Postage, Carriage, &c.	5	19	7½
				„ Sundries	2	11	11½
				„ Balance	23	6	8
	£ 273	2	0		£ 273	2	0

Balance 23 6 8

H. H. J. & D. BADCOCK, *Treasurers.*

Sept. 9, 1872. I have audited this Account and compared the amounts with the vouchers and find the Account correct—the balance in the Treasurers' hands being £23 6s. 8d.

W. P. PINCHARD.

This report was adopted.

The President, WILLIAM AYSHFORD SANFORD, Esq., then read the following

Inaugural Address.

I MUST thank you for the high position in which the Council of this Society, confirmed by your vote of to-day, has placed me. It is a position to which I feel that I have no claim. The very slight amount of work which I have done in connection with this Society, and which has been so long interrupted by causes to which I need not further allude, can surely have given me no claim on your consideration; but still the manner in which the offer was made me by the Council was of such a nature that I could hardly with courtesy have refused it. I do not wish to waste the very short time which is at our disposal by any long address on my part. So many gentlemen have prepared papers on subjects of the greatest interest that every minute must be of importance. I will therefore confine my remarks to subjects which they are not likely to touch on, and to that to which I have particularly given my attention, and on which I would wish to say a few words of comment rather than of original matter. In the first place I would remark that three great works of repair of our ancient monuments are approaching completion. First, the west front of our Cathedral is sufficiently advanced to enable us to judge somewhat of the effect. I must confess that in some respects this is at present disappointing. Whether it be that the beautiful warm grey tint of the old work, harmonising with the dark shafting, produced an effect of dignity and grandeur which is to a great extent lost by the new pale blue shafts, and the mealy appearance caused by the repair of the freestone work, I know not; but certainly the effect of the upper part of the front is not satisfactory. The pale blue shafts mix with the colour of the sky, and produce positive gaps to the eye, where they should present

support, and a shadowy unsubstantial look is given which, I fear, will prevent those of this generation at least, who, from this time see the Cathedral for the first time from realising the noble grandeur which distinguished this fine, though it be but scenic and unstructural, effort of mediæval art. In the next place, the fair form of the spire of St. Mary Redcliff points heavenward over the bustle and commercial activity of the great city of which its parish forms a virtual portion. It is a noble finish to a noble work of repair honestly and patiently carried on through many years. The stone ceiling of the nave of the great church of St. Peter, at Bath, is worthy of the golden age of English vaulting. As soon as the repair of the choir is complete, and the communication between it and the nave is opened, this church, late though it be in date and style, will present one of the most complete and uniform interiors in England, worthy in some respects, to be compared with that masterpiece, King's College Chapel, at Cambridge, though, of course, of less span and general grandeur of effect. When so much is good it is hard, perhaps, to find fault. But I think the most uncritical eye will not be otherwise than thoroughly displeased by the large and, I fear I must say, ugly gasalier, as I think it is called, that disfigures this noble church. It is so large, so ungainly, and so entirely an encumbrance, that I can hardly use words strong enough to condemn it, as every one will in the exact proportion that he admires the remainder of the work. With regard to our own tower of St. James', it will cease to be a reproach to this town. Taunton has within the memory of those now living repaired or executed more monuments of historical interest than any town I know of its size. A comparatively small work like this must not be suffered to languish. St. James' tower will rise again in simple and graceful emulation with that of St. Mary's. We must show to future generations what our ancestors have done, and how we appreciate their work. While on the subject of architecture I would say a

word on the preservation of the exquisite bits of village architecture which still linger in the nooks and corners of the county. Some of these are of very ancient date, and they nearly all so admirably harmonise with the scenery in which they occur that one would have supposed that this would have sufficed to rescue them from destruction at the hands of educated restorers. But so vitiated is the taste of most of the town architects, that the first thing one of them does, when called on to give plans for the repair of a village church, is to recommend to the unsophisticated and astonished country parson to destroy those loved and simple beauties, and replace them with polished shafting and elaborate mouldings; and when he in his humility remonstrates, he is told that it is necessary to leave the mark of the age on the restoration. A 12th century chancel, with its beautiful recessed windows, its massive oak beams and thick walls, has entirely disappeared within the last few years, within a few miles of this, to make way for about as ugly and unsubstantial a structure as I ever set eyes on, and this by the advice of a celebrated architect; and the same thing goes on all over the country. But I was delighted the other day in North Devon, with a dear old vicar of Wakefield, who showed me with pride a perfectly proportioned, though simple, lancet triplet, which he had rescued from the hands of a fashionable London architect, whom to get aid from societies he was obliged to employ, and who was at the time building for a neighbouring clergyman of a fashionable watering-place a church in the most approved style of polish, elaborate moulding, un-English square abaci, and fantastic arrangement of details, with blue and scarlet external roof, and this he called a true eclectic example of the pointed style. New work, if you like it, in the richest and most beautiful forms that you can afford; but respect with the love you bear to an aged and loving parent, the simple work of our earnest and loving ancestors.

From archæology the passage is easy to that period which

may be considered to belong either to that science or to its kindred sister—geology.

You are aware that the period when man made his first appearance in these latitudes, at least as far as at present ascertained, is at the present moment the object of most earnest study among men of the highest intellect and powers of research. The period must have been of enormous length, compared with that to which in our earlier years we have been accustomed to confine the existence of the human race. With regard to this difference of opinion, I would make a remark I do not remember to have seen elsewhere. A very slight acquaintance with the early books of eastern nations, and the modes of thought and of expression to be found in them, will enable us to see that when a race, whether Aryan or Semitic, had raised itself above the surrounding tribes, and had moved from the region in which it had risen from the savage state into other lands, they hardly ever considered the inhabitants of those lands as men; they called them yackos, devils, sorcerers, trols, fauns, anything but man, and they attributed to them frequently supernatural powers; they forbade marriage with them, and, in fact, treated them as beings of a different species. Now, this fact may explain to some, whose early education may have made timid on this point, a difficulty which will naturally arise to their minds, and perhaps clear the way to a more free investigation than they would otherwise undertake.

Now with regard to this period, an investigation has been for some years in progress which offers the first approximation to a chronology of geology, which has yet been shown to rest on a really scientific basis. Many of you are probably aware that Mr. Croll some years since had worked out the probable effects on the variations of climate which would result from the varying eccentricity of the earth's orbit, combined with those which would result from the precession of the equinoxes. The result was, perhaps, startling, for he

found that it was probable that in connection with the precession of the equinoxes a great year of about 20,000 years existed in which there was a great winter and a great summer of 10,000 years each in length in each hemisphere, and that at the present moment we were about 300 or 400 years past the midsummer of the northern hemisphere. But when he came to combine the effects of this great year with that of a still longer one, which depended on the varying eccentricity of the earth's orbit, he found that at certain periods of variable length great winters of intense cold would probably result, which might extend through periods of great length; while at others even more temperate conditions than those which we at the present period experience might be expected. He showed that in accordance with these principles the great year in which we at present live was one in which no very great extremes of climate were likely to occur, the eccentricity of the earth's orbit being small compared with other past periods.

When these views first attracted the attention of scientific men, cold water was, to a certain extent, thrown upon them by Sir Charles Lyell and others, who considered that the varying positions of land and water, as produced by local elevation and subsidence, would sufficiently account for the variations of climate the strata gave us evidence of, without calling astronomy to their assistance. But astronomy must have existed at least as long as geonomy, one sister could not live without the other. So Mr. Croll went on calculating, and I think he is now bringing over some geologists, and to a great extent Sir Charles Lyell himself, to be geonomers. Mr. Geikie, in a recent series of papers on the glacial and post-glacial periods, has shown that it is highly probable that the strata of this long period exhibit the very conditions demanded by the hypothesis of Mr. Croll, that is, that the so-called glacial period was not one of a gradual increase of cold from that of the pliocene to a period of maximum intensity, and

then a gradual warming up again to the present day, but that it was a period in which there were several alternations of temperature of very considerable magnitude, in some of which Northern Britain was covered with ice of perhaps 2,000 or even 3,000 feet in thickness; while at others this country must have enjoyed a nearly Mediterranean climate, free from ice and frost. The same thing has been shown in other parts of the world; but as far as I am aware Mr. Geikie is the first who has correlated the evidence on the subject from different countries. Mr. Croll also showed that one of the effects of his great summers and winters would be that the accumulation of ice on either pole, combined with its disappearance at the other, would, by the attraction of an enormous heap of ice at the one pole and its absence from the other, cause a great ice-tide, so to say, alternately in either hemisphere, which would necessarily cause a submergence or emergence of the land to great depths and elevations above the sea, according as it was high or low water at the given pole. The evidence from the strata on this point is complicated by the proofs we have of the apparent local risings and fallings of the land, which have certainly taken place to a considerable extent. But the following considerations have occurred to me, which have certainly cleared the ground from this difficulty to a much greater extent than I should have *a priori* expected.

If we imagine a condition of things which a low water of this great ice-tide would produce, and that the sea should, by the diminution of the mass of ice at the Northern, and a piling up of a still larger mass at the Southern Pole, be so reduced in extent here that the sea bottom should be laid bare to the depth of 100 fathoms, the following would be the state of the area connected with Great Britain:—St. George's Channel, the English Channel, and the German Ocean would all be dry land; the water-shed of the German Ocean would be to the north of Scarborough; all the rivers to the south of that town would be tributaries of the Rhine, which would

flow through the Straits of Dover, and have its mouth about half way between Cape Clear and Santander, opening on a coast where deep water would at once be reached—in fact, a bold coast in the form of a great bight. The Severn would, if not a tributary to this mighty stream, have its mouth close to it.

Now the drainage basin of this supposed great river would contain all the localities where the fossil hippopotamus has been found.

The Baltic and all the rivers of Great Britain to the north of Scarborough would in the same case drain into a great ravine, which would run along the coast of Norway. In this area I am not aware that the hippopotamus has been found. Now this looks as if the existing formation of the drainage systems of these countries is in the main identical with that existing at the continental period when this amphibious animal was an inhabitant of this country. For one can hardly conceive that the hippopotamus could have been the inhabitant of a river which discharged its waters into the Arctic sea, which the Kirkdale and Thames animals must have done had the Straits of Dover not been open to the passage of at least fresh water. Further consideration also shows that denudation would in this case mainly affect only the higher levels, as the lower levels would be mainly beneath the sea during the more severer conditions of the climate, and would therefore be more affected by deposition than by denudation. If, therefore, we find, as we do by examination of the soundings, that the courses of existing rivers are continued beneath the sea by channels of sensible depth at the bottom of submarine valleys, allowing for local or temporary accumulations, we may fairly assume that it is highly probable that these channels are the continuations of courses of these rivers, and that the valleys are valleys of erosion continuous with those of the subaerial valleys which open into them, and, though now submarine, that they were when eroded subaerial, and had rivers flowing at the bottom of them.

Now all this favours the idea that this great ice-tide, which Mr. Croll demonstrates to have been a highly probable consequence of his astronomical conditions, has here a geological correlation, and that the low water of this tide was contemporaneous with, at least, a warm climate capable of maintaining the hippopotamus throughout the year, as well as its more active companions, the southern elephant, rhinoceros, panther, and one or two other animals; not to speak of the *Corbicula fluminalis*, a southern fresh-water shell, which occurs during the same period in the old area of the Thames in incredible numbers.

The great autumn of such a great year as I speak of would have brought the northern mammalia here. The increasing frosts would have forced them from the north long before the cold could have produced an ice-cap sufficient to have submerged by its attraction this country to any extent, so as to insulate it, particularly if we look to the reduction of level by denudation which must have occurred since that time.

That more than one set of these phenomena have been repeated since the period I speak of, to a greater or less extent, has been clearly shown by Mr. Geikie in the papers I refer to, how often it, perhaps, is the business of future geologists to show. Mr. Geikie has certainly made out a tolerable sequence, and has shown the nature of the evidence, and how it is to be used.

With regard to the chronological part of this question, Mr. Croll has shown that though there were several alternations of temperature, arising from astronomical causes, there were probably two periods in which maxima of great intensity of cold occurred—one about 800,000 years ago, and another about 200,000, and that since this 200,000-year period there has been, though probably more or less interrupted, a gradual amelioration of condition to this present day. It is in the period between the 800,000 years and the 200,000 that we might from astronomical causes have expected conditions

more favourable than those which now exist. Which of the two great maxima of cold were the more intense there may be some doubt about. The main point on which I think both astronomers and geologists are agreed is, that the period which immediately preceded the present, or the quaternary, is such as I have described. And there is a probability that the 800,000-year period marks the close of the pliocene, while the 200,000-year period marks the commencement of the squeezing out of the mammoth and his companions between the severe cold advancing from the north and neolithic man from the south. This process must have been a long one; and in Siberia the mammoth, and in America the mastodon, may have struggled on to a very late date. I think it more than probable that what I have said refers to countries in which we live.

However, as I said before, the evidence we have is very partial and fragmentary. It is for future geologists to fix these numerical laws, which are at present being tentatively treated. If 200,000 years appears too long for the period of the post-glacial period, then we have for the present no geologic trace of Mr. Croll's 800,000-year period; but the evidence of this may yet appear, and then we should have to re-cast our views. It must be remembered that according to this view the 200,000-year period does not represent the advent of neolithic men in these latitudes; but the gap which is on all sides recognised as being great between the disappearance here of palæolithic, and the advent of neolithic men.

In working out problems of this kind it must be remembered that those who are working them are seeking for truth alone. They are not seeking to overturn any given theory, much less are they seeking to extinguish that on which all our dearest hopes rest. If some of our discoveries appear to be incompatible with a cosmogony which is more or less mixed up with an early education in religious matters, let us rather imagine that we may have been mistaken in our so mixing up matters

which have really little or no connexion together, excepting in a very broad and necessary sense. Every truth must be compatible with all other truth. If what we have hitherto regarded as truth prove to be speculation resting upon imperfect interpretation, and to be incompatible with that which we can observe and know, let us endeavour to find out where our mistake is, and not rashly assume that the discoverer is a wilful assailant of that which we have hitherto regarded as holy, often simply because it has been incomprehensible to us ; and least of all let us not despise those who advance opinions which, because they are not comprehended by us, we imagine are beyond the range of human intellect.

The President concluded by calling upon

Mr. G. T. CLARK who read a paper on "Taunton Castle," which is given in Part II., page 60.

The PRESIDENT moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Clark for his valuable dissertation, which, he said, showed the importance of obtaining the assistance of gentlemen who had given such subjects their attention, with very much skill, and brought to bear their experience derived in other parts of the country. He was not the only one in the room who had learned a great deal from the paper.

The vote of thanks thus called for having been passed with unanimity,

Mr. W. A. JONES, referring to Mr. Clark's expression of regret that water had disappeared from the Castle moat, said he had discovered an entry in the records of the Manor as far back as the time of James I. that William Hill rented the free fishing from the water-gate as far as the entrance, with all the trees and other profit, leaving to the Lord of the Manor the right of free entry.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., having been invited to speak upon the topic, said that his friend Mr. Clark was so much better acquainted with the subject that he had nothing he

wished to add. Mr. Clark had given the most excellent account they could have, and a better summary he had never heard. He asked whether the mounds which Mr. Clark only slightly mentioned as being of the Roman period might not, as a general rule, be put down to the 8th or the beginning of the 9th century.

Mr. CLARK: Yes ; but I took it from the 8th to the 10th century.

The PRESIDENT announced that they had now a very rare opportunity of adding a very important item to the parochial history of the county. The Provost of Eton had brought down with him a large number of mediæval deeds connected with the parish of Stoke Courcy, and had prepared a calendar, which he had been kind enough to promise to revise and place on their Transactions. Those documents would be most important in preparing a history of the county, and he hoped that the example would be but the commencement of many others.

The Rev. THE PROVOST OF ETON, at the President's invitation, remarked that the rare and large collection of documents which he had brought with him, were interesting in a great many ways. They contained records of many of the old families in the county from about the year 1160 to 1440. Some of the deeds were very old, and the Priory to which they referred was founded about 1150 or 1170. He had made a list of the documents, which though imperfect, he should be happy to enlarge and place at the disposal of the Society.

The Reverend Prebendary SCARTH said that he had found an old deed in connection with his parish, dated 1447, relating to the transfer of some property from the rector of the church to the parish.

Mr. J. BATTEN remarked that the seals attached to the

documents brought down by the Provost of Eton were very curious and quite unique.

The Rev. Canon MEADE read a notice of a jewel—a blue sapphire—which had been lately lent by the Lord-Lieutenant of the County to the South Kensington Museum. The paper was as follows :—

The stone now set as a brooch, was originally a ring ; it is a large and fine coloured blue sapphire, but the history attached to it is that which chiefly renders it interesting. Soon after the death of Essex, Queen Elizabeth began to feel symptoms of that sickness which carried her to her grave. Neglected by most of her courtiers, mortified and depressed, she had not energy or resolution to take any definite step in preparation for the sad event which was clearly approaching, and particularly for making known her views with respect to the succession of the crown. She could not bear to hear the proposal mooted by those around her of sending for the King of Scots. When it was clear that the Queen's last hour was at hand, the Lord Privy Seal and others of the Ministry prayed her to name her successor. She answered, with some difficulty, in the oracular sentence, that " Her throne was the throne of Kings, and that she would have no mean person to succeed her." It was at this time, the tradition says, at the very moment of the Queen's death, Lady Scrope, who was in attendance at Kensington Palace, looked out of a window and, perceiving her cousin Robert Cary (afterwards Earl of Monmouth) passing by, threw out to him the ring, pointing at the same time with earnest gesticulation to the North. Cary, whether forewarned or not, understood what was intended, took horse, and rode to Scotland, and, obtaining an audience of King James informed him of the Royal death at Kensington Palace,

exhibiting the ring, as, it is supposed, had been previously agreed on between the King of Scots and Lady Scrope. The service thus rendered was a most important one, for intrigues at this time were deeply and widely laid to prevent the succession of James to the throne. Strict orders had been given to close all the doors of the Palace where the Queen died, while an equally rigid watch was maintained at Whitehall, and measures were taken to prevent any information being sent from thence to Holyrood. The story of the ring is mentioned in Robertson's History of Scotland; it is also given in the "Life of the Earl of Monmouth," upon whom King James after his accession to the English throne conferred this title, in acknowledgment of the service rendered to him. There is also a small volume in the library at Marston, drawn up by John, Earl of Orrery, which gives an account of the circumstances to which I have ventured to direct your attention. The jewel now no longer a ring, has been sent by its present possessor to the South Kensington Museum: it is worthy of much admiration for its intrinsic beauty, and is interesting also from the purpose it once served, when the succession of the true heir to the throne was secured to this kingdom. The jewel came into the possession of the Earl of Cork through John, Earl of Cork and Orrery, who lived in the early part of the last century, and to whom it was given by his intimate friend, the Duchess of Buckingham, a natural daughter of James II. The Earl of Monmouth, the loyal messenger who bore the important tidings from Kensington Palace to King James, is no longer represented in the British peerage. He had three sons, none of whom had male issue, whereby the title became extinct. He was himself a man of no mean extraction, but was descended from Lord Hunsdon, a cousin

of Queen Elizabeth, being the son of Mary Boleyn, sister of Anne Boleyn, wife of Henry VIII. For the substance of these remarks I am indebted to the present Countess of Cork, who has kindly permitted me to communicate them to the Society.

Canon Meade added that he had no doubt that the Society would duly appreciate the liberality and the good taste of the present possessor of the jewel, who, instead of keeping it in its box, had sent it to be exhibited.

The PRESIDENT pointed out that this was another instance of the value of the Association, in bringing to public notice things which were frequently hidden in a very unsatisfactory way in private chests. They were deeply obliged to Canon Meade, and also to the Lord-Lieutenant and the Countess of Cork for this privilege.

The Rev. T. HUGO tendered to the President the thanks of the meeting for his bold address, so full of criticism, and asked that it might be printed and published.

The PRESIDENT, in briefly acknowledging the cordial cheers which were given, intimated that they were quite welcome to have the address published in their Proceedings if they thought it worthy.

A move was then made for a tour of inspection of some of the objects of antiquarian and historical interest in the town.

The Castle*

was first inspected under the guidance of Mr. G. T. CLARK. On emerging from the hall the company found themselves in the inner court of the Castle facing the gateway. Mr. Clark remarked that the inner front of

* A paper on the Castle, by the late Rev. F. Warre, together with a plan and some engravings, will be found in Vol. IV. of the Society's Proceedings.

the gateway seemed to be later than the front towards the road, the latter being in the Early Decorated style. The party having been met and welcomed to the interior of the Castle by Mr. Gillett, the present occupant, the base of the Norman keep was first entered. Mr. Clark said it was very unusual to have the basement of a Norman keep arched, as that was; and there were signs of artificial work about it. Norman keeps were generally floored with timber, and where they were vaulted this had been put in at a later period. The tidy walls, however, were fatal to any examination. There was an old staircase which, unfortunately, had been turned into a wine cellar. The arch had been found to be three feet thick and the wall 14 feet thick, which was thicker than usual, but it was to be explained by the fact that thick walls were generally built when the foundation was not very good. Having led the party through to the lawn on the west, he told them they were standing where the old ditch was; it had been filled in by Sir Benjamin Hammet—a great benefactor of this town, but who, unfortunately, played havoc with its archæological remains. The round tower looked modern, but the Norman buttresses were old. The centre pilaster strip was lower than the window. Most likely the entrance to the keep was on the other side, and was sure to have been on the first floor, for the keeps seldom had a subterranean chamber. The specimens of the Norman pilaster were about as good as he ever saw. Leading on to the north, he said they were then on the other face of the keep, with the river Tone, from which the town derives its name, behind them. On the first story to the right he pointed out a deep narrow opening, which he confessed he could not explain. Probably, he said, it was Early English work, but it was too high for a

door, and did not look altogether like a window. The pattern of the staircase no doubt was Norman, but it looked as if it had been rebuilt in later times. No doubt there were windows all along between the buttresses.

Mr. W. A. JONES asked whether there was likely to have been a wall between the hall and the river.

Mr. CLARK replied in the negative—only a breastwork. He pointed out a postern, with a segmental arch, which, he said, might be of any date. Passing to the east, into the space now used as a playground for a school, he said they were then in what was in some respects decidedly the most interesting part of the Castle—an artificial earth-work raised many feet above the ground around, and, no doubt, composed of the earth thrown out of the ditch. Here, he took it, the Saxon King had his citadel, which was very probably constructed of timber, because heavy masonry could not be put upon newly-made ground. It could be seen from the cut of it that it was artificial, and there was room for a very considerable house. When the Norman came he, according to their usual way, built his wall against the mound, and used the mound as a terrace from which to attack the people outside. That gave a great military advantage, which the Normans knew so well how to employ. The space was now rectangular, but probably it had been trimmed; and there were enough remains to make it exceedingly probable that that was the real citadel of the Castle, and upon which, in the 8th century, the Saxon King put his residence. Therefore it would be the oldest inhabited part of the town, which the people ought to value, because they had in it the earliest evidence of military work, and should point it out as the most extraordinary and interesting part in the history of the town. The mill, he observed, had been so trans-

mogrified that they could see very little of the original work. There was a curious ancient arch between the citadel-ground and the mill, which was probably an ancient sewer.

Mr. CLARK, making for Castle Green; halted in front of the gateway, and said that they were then standing on the site of the ancient drawbridge and looking on the outer face of the gate of the inner ward. He drew attention to the insertion of the carved stone armorial bearings of Bishop Langton just above the archway, and the arms of Henry VII. higher up. On both sides there was a patch of stone, which he believed were the holes through which the chains of the drawbridge passed.

Mr. W. A. JONES mentioned that when the Castle was sold by the late Lord of the Manor, he was not able to sell the room over the archway. This belonged to the tenants of the Manor of Taunton Deane, and not to the owner of the Castle, and it was now under the charge of the Deputy Steward, the records of the Manor being preserved in it.

The remains of the Eastern Gate of the Castle were also inspected, and the Members then proceeded to the

Church of St. Mary Magdalene.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., drew attention to the only two pieces of sculpture which remain of the old tower. These are the two spandrils at the entrance, and are original work, of the time of Henry VII., representing the Day of Judgment and Doom.* There were also, he pointed out, stoups for holy water on each side of the door. The tower was one of the richest and finest ex-

* Engravings of these Spandrils will be found in the first volume of the Society's Proceedings, p. 89.

amples of the old Somersetshire towers. It had been carefully restored in a manner with which they could not find fault. Upon entering the sacred edifice the visitors were accompanied by the vicar (Rev. Prebendary Clark), and the Right Rev. the Lord Bishop of Bath and Wells was also present. Mr. Parker said he was sorry that he had been called upon to speak in the church, because it had been restored so thoroughly that it ceased to be archaeological, and became a 19th century object ; and it was not his business to criticise modern restoration. There were, however, remains of the old work. The roof preserved its original character, and respecting the decorations they were matters of taste which it was of no use to discuss. The character of the capitals was essentially Somersetshire. The general style was rich Perpendicular English. There was a peculiarity in the capital of the chancel arch, which he believed belonged to an earlier period than the rest. To his mind the figures in the niches were too large ; and with regard to the painting, unless there was good evidence of what it had been, he would not altogether commend it. He was happy to say that the decoration of churches was being very commonly restored all over the country, for he did not approve of leaving walls untidy, merely because they were ancient. There was not the slightest doubt that the old churches were intended to be coloured. In this instance the patterns of the painting were not the usual patterns of the period, and he doubted whether they were genuine. Mr. Street, one of our first architects, and a friend of his own, was the designer of the reredos, and it was not for him to find fault with it ; but Mr. Street was too fond of making much of his altar screen. This was very handsome in its way, no doubt ; but the fault was that it did not stand

clear of the window, but was carried a little too high. The carving was beautifully done. There could not be a more thoroughly English style than that church. The Perpendicular English was altogether peculiar to this country. These fine open-timbered roofs, which were the glory of the land, were as much to be admired as the vaulted French roofs. The latter were so common in France, because in very early days the French hit upon a very cheap mode of vaulting, which would not cost half the money of vaulting an English church. There was no doubt a great advantage in vaulted roofs, as had been recently proved in the fire at Canterbury Cathedral; but for ornament our roofs were much preferable. Mr. Freeman knew so much more about the local peculiarities of churches that he would much rather he had spoken than himself. The double aisle of the church was a peculiarity, and probably arose from the increasing wealth of the place and the requirement for a number of chantry chapels.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., added a few words of comparison of St. Mary's with other specimens of ecclesiastical architecture in the country. He expressed a hope that St. James' tower would grow up by the side of this, and said that though St. Mary's was the highest and most striking tower, it did not rank so high as a work of art as its neighbours, St. James' and Bishop's Lydeard.

St. James' Church

was the next subject of inspection.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said it was an original Somerset Perpendicular Henry VII. church. The font was a beautiful piece of sculpture of its kind. The chancel window was a modern one of painted glass. It was good of its kind, but modern painted glass would never compare with the

old. It was one of the things in which we are behind-hand. The arch next to the pulpit had been made of two. He hoped that now the tower was being re-built the time was not very far distant when the galleries would disappear, as they had in other places; for with the adoption of open seats instead of doors there would be plenty of room. The pulpit was nothing very particular, but a handsome one of its kind. The tower was a very fine one, and was to be restored exactly as before. He was told that the very unusual circular window over the entrance door was modern.

The Rev. T. HUGO, in reply to a question, said this was never the conventual church of Taunton Priory.

The VICAR (Rev. W. T. Redfern) mentioned that in the old parish registers (which were openly exhibited) there were entries of persons buried who had been executed for treason, and of marriages in the time of the Commonwealth, which appeared to have been performed by a justice of the peace.

At the Canon Street corner of St. James' Street attention was paid to some old almshouses, whose date was generally supposed to be that of Henry VII., but by some much earlier.

Taunton Priory.*

The Rev. T. HUGO led to the site of the ancient Priory, and showed the only remains of it in the dilapidated structure, now apparently used as a barn. Since the Dissolution, three centuries ago, the ground had been opened over and over again for the purpose of getting stone. In several of the houses in Canon Street, close

* A paper on the Priory, by the Rev. T. Hugo, with some engravings, will be found in Vol. IX. of the Society's Proceedings.

by, there were pieces of stone, doubtless coming from the ancient Priory. He believed that every bit of stonework in the "chapel," as it was called, was an insertion, with the exception of the doorway. The windows on the east side were modern. He had been told that in the last century, at the time of the French wars, the building was appropriated to the use of some French people here for religious worship, and had therefore been called "the chapel."

The next centre of attraction was

The Grammar School.

These fine old premises, now used no longer for their original purpose, are occupied by the Middle Schools.

Mr. W. A. JONES stated that the school was built by Bishop Fox, as the Lord of the Manor, in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., and endowed by William Walbee, whose will was proved in the reign of Queen Mary. At one time the roof of the school-room was open, but is now plastered in. The dormitories are now adapted as a chapel for the school services.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said the school was a good example of its time, and was in a very genuine state. The old roof remained perfect, and there were very few such. It was the simple Late Perpendicular style.

The *Annual Dinner* took place at the London Hotel. The president gave one toast, "The Queen," remarking that it was their privilege to be subjects of a lineal descendant of Ingild, the brother of the founder of this town.

An Evening Meeting

was held in the Castle Hall.

Ancient Geography of the Coast of England.

Mr. W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., delivered an able address on this subject, of which the following is an abstract.

The submarine forest exposed between the tide-marks on the coast of West Somerset has long been known. That portion of it visible at Porlock was described in 1839 by Sir Henry de la Beche, and more recently by Mr. Godwin-Austen in an essay read before the Geological Society in 1865. It was shown by the latter to be rooted on "an angular detritus," and to be overlaid by the following deposits :—

1. A blue freshwater-mud deposit, resulting, probably, from the depression of the land.
2. A surface of plant-growth (*Iris*).
3. A marine silt with *Scrobicularia piperata*.
4. Shingle that forms a ridge which is at the present time encroaching on the level water-meadows behind.

The physical changes manifested by the section he interprets thus :—The accumulation of angular detritus, in which the trees are rooted, belongs to subaërial conditions, which were in operation while the boulder-clay of the centre and north of Britain was falling from the melting icebergs. This was followed by the epoch of the growth of the forest and of the accumulation of vegetable matter. The overlying blue clay marks the time during which the trees were killed ; the surface of marsh-growth covered with *Iris*, marks the epoch when the trees fell ; the *Scrobicularia*-clay indicates a depression below the sea-

level ; and, lastly, the clay was elevated and the shingle thrown up on the surface to form the barrier at high-water mark.

Mr. Godwin-Austen's valuable essay recalled to mind a worked flint that I had found in the angular detritus in 1861. On its re-examination I found that it had been chipped by the hand of man. In the autumn of 1869, the Rev. H. H. Winwood and myself resolved to verify the discovery by a thorough examination of the forest-bed. On digging through the layer of undisturbed vegetable matter, we met with ample traces of man's handiwork in flint and chert chippings, and in one very well-formed flake which, apparently, had never been used. They were embedded in the upper ferruginous portion of the angular detritus, and evidently had been dropped upon the surface-soil of the period, and not transported by water. On searching the shingle we found only one water-worn flint-pebble, which, possibly, may have been washed out of the angular detritus ; it is therefore probable that the presence of flint and chert in that neighbourhood is owing to their transport by man.

Encouraged by these results, we resolved to explore the submarine forest in the nearest bay to the east close to Minehead. It there consists of oak, ash, alder, and hazel, which grew on a blue clay, full of rootlets, that thickens considerably seawards. The blue clay in its lower part is full of angular fragments of Devonian rocks, which, as at Porlock, constitute a landwash, and not a shingle. At the point between tides, where the angular fragments began to appear, the flint chippings were found. The exact spot where we dug was to the east of the little stream that enters the sea between Minehead and Warren farm, and close to a large stump that is generally exposed at one-

third tides, about 200 yards from the shore and 50 from a line of posts for nets. The splinters, which, as at Porlock, clearly had been struck off by the hand of man in the manufacture of some tool, consisted of flint and chert, the latter of which was derived from the greensand of Blackdown, on the borders of Devonshire. They were embedded in a ferruginous band as at Porlock, and occurred as deep as one foot from the surface of the bed. We dug in several other spots without finding any other traces of man's presence.

In both these localities it is clear that man had been living on the old land-surface, and that the remains of his handiwork had been dropped in the angular detritus which Mr. Godwin-Austen believes to be subaërial and glacial.

These fragments of submerged forest are mere scraps, spared by the waves, of an ancient growth of oak, ash, and yew, that is found everywhere underneath the peat or alluvium in the Somersetshire levels. At Porlock Quay, on the west, it dips under the fresh water and marine strata that have been described, at high-water mark, and is stripped of its supra-jacent deposits from the line of half-tide down to low water. Opposite the precipitous headland of North Hill it has not yet been found. At Minehead it reappears under the same conditions as at Porlock, and thence it is represented in an easterly direction by several patches, visible at extreme low water as far as Stolford, where the angular detritus rest on the Liassic reefs. Then it passes under the alluvium of Stert Point, at the mouth of the river Parret, to join the large forest that lies buried in the basins of the Axe, the Tone, the Parret, and the Yeo. At Weston-super-Mare it can be seen under the alluvium. Throughout this wide area the trees have been utterly destroyed by the growth of

peat, or by the deposits of the floods, except at a few isolated spots, which stand at a higher level than usual, in the great flats extending between the Polden Hills and the Quantocks. One of these oases, a little distance to the west of Middlezoy, is termed the Oaks, because those trees form a marked contrast to the prevailing elms and willows of the district. In the neighbouring ditches that gradually cut into the peat and then into silt, prostrate oak trees are very abundant. As we approach the river Parret the silt gradually increases in thickness, until, at Borough Bridge, the forest is struck at a depth of 18 feet below the present surface, or about the same distance below the line of high-water mark in the river.

The destruction of the forest seems to have been brought about by the stagnation of water consequent on the deposit of silt in the rivers, by which their beds were raised until the surrounding district became flooded ; then the peat grew and gradually changed the surface into a spongy morass, in which the trees died, and, as the latter decayed, they were blown down, the lines of their trunks pointing away from the prevalent winds. But while this was going on, the rivers were depositing silt in quantities greatest at the line where their currents impinged on the slack water, and gradually reaching a minimum in passing away from their courses ; and in this way the fertile alluvium of the vales of Taunton, Bridgwater, Highbridge, and Weston-super-Mare was deposited, while around Shapwick the peat comes up to the surface, and attains a depth of at least 16 feet.

The conditions, therefore, under which the forest at Porlock Quay and Minehead was destroyed are not merely confined to those isolated spots, but are constant over the whole of the Somerset levels. If, then, we can approxi-

mately fix the date of the destruction of the forest, we have a clue to the antiquity of the traces of man found in the land-surface underneath. And this we are able to do by the discoveries, made by the late Mr. Stradling at the bottom of the peat, in the great marsh that extends from Highbridge to Glastonbury. From time to time, between the years 1830 and 1851, he obtained sundry flints, celts, and spear-heads of the neolithic type, a bronze celt, and three paddles from the top of the sub-turbary marl. A large canoe also, formed out of an immense oak, and known as "Squire Phippen's big ship," made its appearance in dry seasons, and eventually was broken up for firewood by the cottagers. It is clear, therefore, that at least as early as the neolithic age the forest beneath the turbary has been destroyed, and its area occupied by a stagnant morass. The latest date, therefore, which we can assign to the traces of man in the submerged land-surface at Porlock and Minehead is an early stage in the neolithic period. The discovery of *Bos longifrons*, or small domestic ox, in the same forest-surface near Barnstaple, fixes the date as not older than the neolithic age, because that animal was unknown in Europe before.

So far as I know, no cases are on record of the occurrence of traces of man underneath any other submarine forest on the shores of Britain. They do not add to our knowledge of primeval man, or extend his range further than we already know into the past; they merely prove that he dwelt in the district probably before and possibly during the growth of the forest, and before those physical changes began to be felt by which its destruction and submergence were brought about—changes of great magnitude and probably of long duration.

In closing, Mr. Dawkins asked why some one among

them did not take the trouble to examine the evidence relative to "the levels" of the county, to the enclosure of these great flat stretches of morass and alluvium? Why should we be ignorant of the history of the making of the dykes, and of the relation which the ancient forest of Somersetshire bore to the cultivated lands in the periods embraced by history? In answer to a gentleman, he said he did not think that the remains found in the caves in this neighbourhood and in the gravels all round the coast were of the same age as this forest-surface, but that they belonged to the age of extinct mammalia, or the pleistocene, of which the characteristic woolly rhinoceros had been discovered in digging the foundations of Taunton Gaol, and the mammoth by Sir A. A. Hood, at St. Audries.

General MUNBEE thought that the subject was one of the very greatest possible importance to this county, and to science in general. It represented the subsidence of our land, and also the existence of submerged forest all round England. Their thanks were very greatly due to the gentleman who had been good enough to bring forward the notice, and it would be exceedingly advisable that this very interesting subject should be followed out more intimately. The whole of the immediate alluvial districts were in a great measure below the level of high-water mark, at all events. He suggested that a committee be formed to pursue investigations such as had been indicated, and take levels in such directions as they might choose, and by the next year record what they had been able to do.

Mr. CHARLES MOORE said there was one point upon which he was a little sceptical, although he perfectly agreed with Mr. Dawkins in the whole of his interesting address ; it was Mr. Dawkins' correlation of the turbaries

inland with the forest-beds which surround the coast. It seemed to him that Mr. Dawkins depended very much upon the work which Mr. Stradling did in former times. They all knew Mr. Stradling in the early days of the Association, and the earnestness with which he worked ; but in his day the points connected with the introduction of man upon the earth had not sprung up, and he did not think that the observations of Mr. Stradling were sufficiently devoted to those points for him to be a great authority in connection with this matter. It was true Mr. Stradling examined very carefully the work done at the turbaries, but none of the finished implements found in them had ever been found in connection with a forest-bed.

Some further remarks were made by the Rev. Thos. Hugo, Mr. E. B. Tylor, and the President, when

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., read a paper on " King Ine," which is given in Part II., p. 1.

The PRESIDENT remarked that when they got so much light upon the life of a person who lived in such remote times when there were so few contemporary records, it showed what could be done in that way. On the very borders of Somersetshire and Devonshire, at a place where there was no natural boundary to the county, there was a rampart stretching for some distance across the hill, where there could be no cause for it. That, very likely, might be some record of the inroad of the Saxons.

Mr. BUCKLEY remarked that there was one place where the memory of Ine was still retained, and his name was mentioned every day. In the monastery at Rome, which sheltered St. Augustine before he came on his mission to Britain, there was still a tablet recording that in that monastery was a hospital which had been founded for English pilgrims, first by the liberality of Ine, and secondly

by the munificence of an English merchant. His name was mentioned there every day in the Mass.

Cordial votes of thanks having been passed to Mr. Dawkins and Mr. Freeman, the evening's proceedings were concluded.

Excursion: Wednesday.

A large party left Taunton in the morning on an excursion, the first place visited being a

Quarry in the grounds at Hestercombe.

Mr. W. A. JONES pointed out the junction of the Syenite with the Devonian rock.

Mr. W. BOYD DAWKINS, F.R.S., mounted an eminence and explained the composition of the great mass of igneous rocks on which he stood. It belonged to the crystalline division—the order of rocks poured out through active volcanoes. It was not of considerable extent, and occupied a space between the Devonian stratified rocks of the country. The Devonian rocks were very much twisted and crumpled about, and that could only have been induced by enormous exertion from below. First of all, during the time these Devonian rocks were crumpled and twisted and contorted, there were certain fissures made in them, and subsequently the molten matter from below was forced upwards through the broken fissures to occupy the cool space. It had been baked, and looked as if it had been put into a smelter's oven. It was usual to call it Syenite, but he was not altogether satisfied that it was Syenite. It seemed rather to be allied to the class of volcanic rocks to which basalt belonged, and which were found largely in the Mendip Hills.

Mr. W. A. JONES said that the rock first became known in 1814. The Secretary of the Geological Society found accidentally at Cheddon a rock which led him to make the enquiry. They had evidence of the quarry having been opened and worked extensively, for in taking down the old towers of St. Mary's and St. James' at Taunton great masses of the rock were found built into them. Ten years ago he heard a story from a labourer there to the effect that his master (Mr. Warre) had gone to a barber's shop in London, and noticed the barber with considerable delight sharpening his razor on a hone, which he was told upon enquiry came from a place called Hestercombe down in the country. He understood that it was frequently used as a hone-stone. In reply to the President, as to whether he found the rock radiating from any central mass, or any linear expansion, he replied that no other junction had been found. Some of the same character of rock was, he believed, found near Wrington, and the Malvern Hills were igneous rocks, of very much the same character. On behalf of the Committee he acknowledged the courtesy of Mr. Knollys and Mr. Parsons, the agents of Lord Ashburton and Lord Portman, for the facilities they had given for the examination of the rocks and the inspection of the grounds.

Mr. R. K. M. KING read the following extracts relating to this rock from Corner's Geological Survey :—

The rocks of this district differ in mineralogical character, but the different varieties graduate so insensibly into each other, that they may be considered as one common formation. A large portion have the structure of sandstones, the component parts varying in size from that of mustard seed to such a degree of fineness that the particles can with difficulty be discerned.

Quartz and clay are the essential component parts of all the varieties, but in different proportions. The quartz, in some instances, prevails, to the entire exclusion of any other ingredient forming a granular quartz rock. The coarse varieties have abundance of quartz, but clay is the principal ingredient of the slaty kinds. They have all an internal stratified structure, which is less apparent in those of a coarse grain, but becomes more distinct as the texture becomes finer, and at last the rock graduates into a fine grained slate, divisible into laminæ as thin as paper, and having the smooth silky feel and shining surface of the clay slate of a primary country. Alternation of the fine-grained slaty varieties with those of the coarsest structure in many successive strata, and without any regularity of position, are of constant occurrence, and frequently without any gradation of one structure into another. In some instances portions of slate are contained in the coarse-grained varieties. Scales of mica are frequent, and they all contain oxide of iron, and to the different states of this oxide their various colours are, no doubt, to be ascribed. The prevailing colours are reddish brown, and greenish grey, and there are many intermediate shades and mixtures of these colours. Some of the slaty varieties are of a purplish hue, occasionally spotted with green. I did not discover a trace of any organic body in either variety, but in many places great beds of limestone, full of madrepores, are contained in the slate, the limestone and slate towards the external part of the beds being inter-stratified. Veins of quartz, which are often of great magnitude, are of constant occurrence, being sometimes accompanied by calcareous spar and ferriferous carbonate of lime. Veins of sulphate of barytes are not uncommon. The layers composed of quartz, chlorite, and ferriferous carbonate of lime are often interposed between the strata of slate, and pyrites is sometimes disseminated through the mass of the rock. Copper in the state of sulphurate and malachite and veins of hematite are frequently found, and

nests of copper ore of considerable magnitude have been found in the subordinate beds of limestone.

I shall call this series of rocks a *Grauwacke Formation*.

As the ends of the inclined slaty strata rise to the surface they become either vertical or are very much twisted, with a succession of sharp angular bendings and a fracture at every angle. The most remarkable instances of these contortions are to be seen in the lanes between Enmore and West Monkton, and in the other roads which cross the south-eastern ridges of the Quantock Hills, and at Adsborough and the lane leading to Tarr, near Kingston, where they are covered by horizontal beds of red argillaceous sandstone and conglomerate.

Near Ely Green, in the side of the combe called Dibles and in the neighbourhood of Cheddon Fitzpaine, I observed a variety of slate, differing considerably in appearance from any I met with in the district. It is of a blueish green colour, apparently derived from chlorite, with purplish stains, and including small spherical masses of a white earthy texture, which give to the mass an amygdaloide structure. It may be considered as a variety of argillaceous slate, and as it occurs in strata conformable with the usual varieties of the grauwacke formation, it belongs, I have no doubt, to the same class. It is found very useful as a fire stone.

In passing through Cheddon Fitzpaine I found granite, called by the country people, "Pottle stone," in situ, and whetstone. The last was a greenish compact stone, very like some iron stones. The granite is small grained, and consists of dull, flesh-coloured fellspar, with green mica and a small quantity of quartz.

Within a few yards of the granite the inclination of the strata is about 35 degrees, but as it approaches nearer to it the angle increases to 63 degrees.

The granite as it approaches the slate is much finer grained, and at the contact there is an indistinct blending of the two, and there is an appearance of fragments of slate united by a granitic cement.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD said the question had been asked whether the Quantocks were old red sandstone or Devonian. The latter were divided into lower, middle, and upper, and at the base of all was a coarse sandstone. The Quantocks represented the middle Devonian division, consisting of red sandstone and slate. It remained for an energetic scientific man like the President to bore through the red sandstone, and find what was below—perhaps the black mineral, which was now so valuable.

The PRESIDENT said that in the neighbourhood of Burlescombe and Holcombe Rogus there were some very thin carboniferous bits, and it was not at all impossible that still further south, working-beds might be found ; but it was not a favourable symptom that the marine equivalents of the carboniferous formation were very well known, and showed no indications of workable coal. It was very possible that at a time long before the upheaving of the Mendips they might have been covered with coal, and that it might have been extended into the Bridgwater level and some distance west. The chance of finding coal was remote, and pregnant with a great deal of cost ; and looking at the uncarboniferous state of Devonshire it would be very doubtful whether it would be found in a workable state. So, until more was known about it, landowners would not sink a great deal of money in boring, when they could spend it in improving their estates.

Mr. W. BOYD DAWKINS said the first thing to be taken into consideration was the cost of boring for coal. As one of the originators of the borings in Sussex he said that the cost was about £1 a foot. It was a well-ascertained fact that the coal measures on the Mendips, which were enormously valuable, were cut off by that range of hills, and appeared to die away as they approached the hills, because

the sea had washed the edges of the coal away. There was no geological doubt, however, that the coal-field actually extended to the south of the Mendips.

After this digression on coal, the party descended to the main quarry, where the stone was found to be of a much more decided granite character.

The PRESIDENT said it frequently occurred that there was an appearance of stratification which was deceptive, and there was an example of it here. The lines abutted very sharply, but the joints were not carried through. The explanation of this was found in the paper which had been read by Mr. King.

Hestercombe House.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said the only fragments of the old building visible were the buttresses of the hall, of the time of Henry VII.

The PRESIDENT said there was another buttress on the other side of the house, and there were also one or two Elizabethan windows. He produced a double-handed sword, which is said to have been taken from King John of France, at the battle of Poitiers, by John la Warre. That a sword was so taken was undoubted, and this one had been in the possession of the family for a great number of years, and always bore its present history.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON thought that the inscription must be contemporaneous with the making of the weapon. The characters were Roman.

Mr. JOHN BATTEN said it was perfectly clear that John, King of France, surrendered after much contention to John la Warre and Sir John Pelham. He could have been no direct ancestor of the Warres, however, or the peerage would have descended to the family.

The sword has inscribed on one side a cross, with the monogram I.H.S., and on the other

EN GLADIUM JOHANNIS GALLIÆ R.

The Rev. T. HUGO, M.A., here read a paper on "Hestercombe," which is printed in Part II., page 136.

Mr. BATTEN exhibited an old deed relating to Hestercombe, of the date of Edward III.

Kingston Church*

was the next resort, and here the vicar (Rev. I. S. Gale) met the visitors, who were further welcomed by merry peals from the bells. The churchyard contains a grand old yew of great dimensions.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said that this church differed from most others in the neighbourhood. A considerable portion remained of the Early English style of the beginning of the 13th century. The chancel had been almost entirely rebuilt. There was no mark of any chancel arch, but it was impossible to say what the original termination was; it was exceedingly probable that there was an apse at the end. The columns indicated that there was no chancel arch at that point. The present ceiling also belonged to a late period. The tower was one of the finest of Somersetshire towers of the time of Henry VII., and the fan tracery vault at the porch was a remarkable feature. The greater part had been carefully restored, and great credit was due for the faithful manner in which this had been done. There was a fine tomb in the Decorated style, of the date of Richard II., and supposed to contain the remains of one of the Warre family. The painted glass

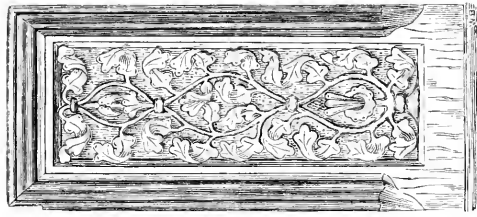
* An account of this Church, by the late Rev. Eccles J. Carter, together with engravings of the tower and tomb of the Warre family, will be found in the volume of the Society's Proceedings for 1853, p. 33.

in the window came from the chapel at Hestercombe, but was not ancient.* The pewing was quite unique. Somersetshire benches he considered the best church furniture to be seen anywhere in the world. All over the Continent they had the greatish rubbish of chairs piled up in the churches, and anything like these benches was seldom seen except in the east and west of England. Those in this church were every one different and beautifully carved. One was dated 1522, and they were in the fashion of the period of the beginning of the 16th century. The pew system began in Scotland, and spread through the centre of England into France. That fashion prevailed for two or three centuries, and destroyed these beautiful benches which all antiquarians agreed were the finest church furniture. Passing into the churchyard Mr. Parker called attention to the fine outline of the tower, which was a very rich example in decoration altogether, little pinnacles attaching to the buttresses all the way up. The parapet was open, and the windows of the tower pierced to keep out the birds—a feature of a peculiarly Somersetshire character. Notice having been drawn to the rough-casting, he said that the carrying out of the work in that manner had no doubt an economical solution. The niches, instead of standing upon corbels, rested upon little shafts; the images were gone; and the feature was an unusual one.

The following extracts from Heale's excellent work on the "History of Church Seats or Pews" will show that Somerset was famous for its bench-ends :—

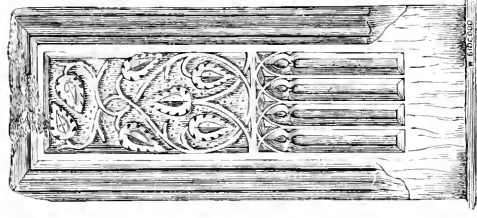
The early pews were, beyond all question, simply a row of benches with backs, and those which are now commonly termed "open seats" are examples of early pews, or copies or

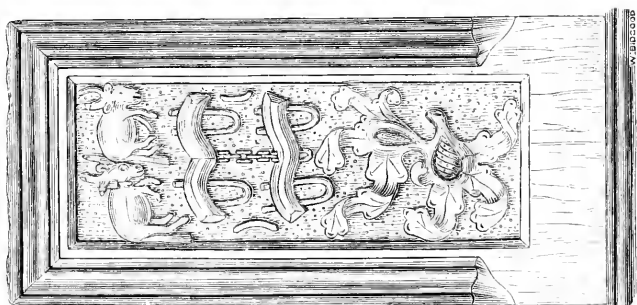
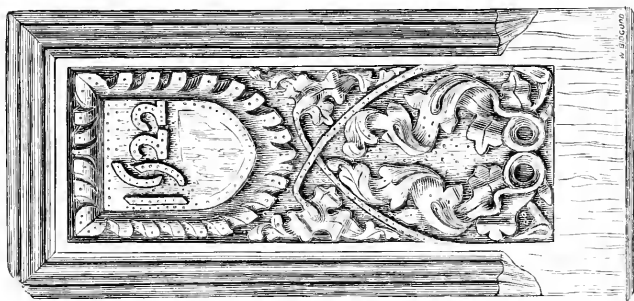
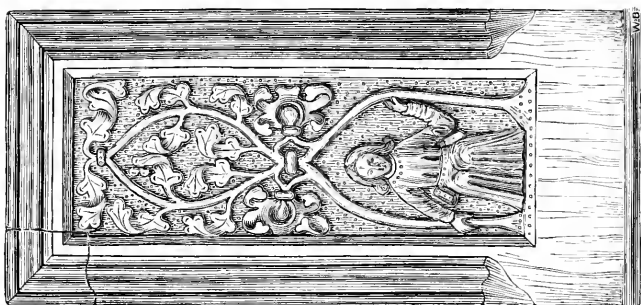
* The armorial bearings shown are those of families connected with the Warres.



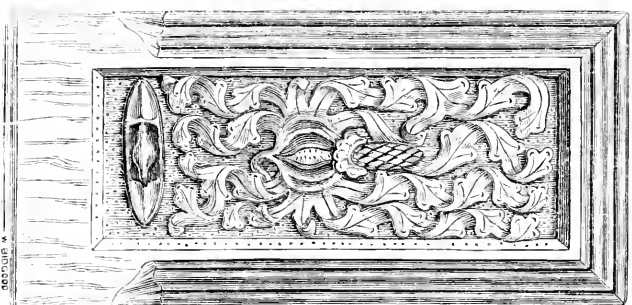
THE accompanying pages contain Engravings of a selection from the Ancient Bench-ends of the Church of KINGSTON ST. MARY, in the county of Somerset. They were promised as a donation for the County Archæological Society to WILLIAM ARTHUR JONES, Esq., M.A., in the Excursion which he organized, and are now inscribed to his honoured memory by one of his sorrowing friends,

W. E. S.

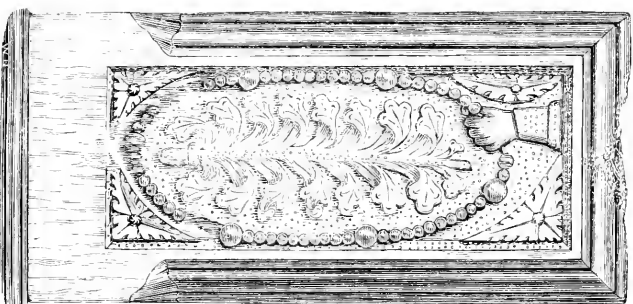




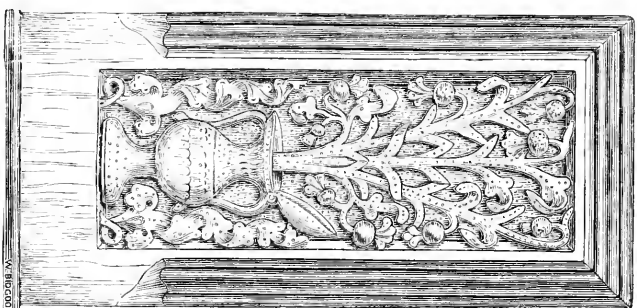
BENCH-ENDS. KINGSTON ST. MARY, SOMERSET.



W. B. R. 1000



W. B. R. 1000



W. B. R. 1000

imitations of them. . . . They were always substantial and of good durable material, such as oak or beech, and capitally joined and fitted. . . . Perhaps the earliest existing pew is at St. John's Church, Winchester: the date may safely be fixed as late Decorated work. . . . The most beautiful early pews are to be found in Norfolk, with adjoining parts of Lincolnshire and Suffolk, and in Somerset and Devon. . . . Magnificent specimens exist at Cheddar, Somerset. . . . Beautiful bench-ends, decorated with geometric traceried panelling, occur at Crowcombe. . . . Such panelling, combined with rich carving, is seen at Trull, and carving alone at Milverton. . . . At Clapton the bench-ends, though perfectly devoid of all other ornament, have their elbows both curled in a very unusual manner.* . . . At Nettlecombe are beautiful specimens of an early period. . . . At Broomfield we find the sacred monogram within a carved bordure of vine with grapes.† . . . A very singular carved bench-end occurs at Spaxton, representing a fuller at work, with shears, a comb, and other implements, in the vacancies of the panel.‡ . . . At Milverton we have the royal arms, probably of Henry VIII, and in the same church are fine specimens carved with medallions, excellent likenesses of Queen Mary kneeling, and also portraits of Cardinal Pole and Bishop Gardiner. . . . It is only at a rather late period that we meet with any date upon the pews. The earliest appears to be one at Bishops Hull, where some good seats bear the date 1530; one at Crowcombe bears the date mccccxxxiii. Some very poor specimens at Milverton are dated 1540. . . . At what time doors were added we are unable to discover; some benches at Bishops Hull have a bar across by way of door.

By the invitation of Mr. W. E. Surtees, the Society were entertained in the adjoining school-room at an

* Engraving in Vol. X. of the Society's Proceedings.

+	„	Vol. V.	„	„
‡	„	Vol. VIII.	„	„

excellent luncheon. A hearty vote of thanks was subsequently passed to Mr. Surtees on the motion of the President, and the excursionists proceeded to

Norton Fitzwarren Church.

The Rev. T. HUGO pointed out the screen, which he said was as fine a one as would be found anywhere. It contained a carved representation of two dragons and a plough in the centre. According to the legend the dragon who lived on the hill seemed to have infested the fields where the ploughmen were, and here he was in pursuit of the men. The plough was of a mediæval character. One circumstance might lead to the discovery of the date of its construction—the name of the churchwarden for the time being was carved upon it. Its age was not very far before the year 1500. It ought to be coloured, as was no doubt the intention of the builder.

Mr. JONES and Mr. PARKER thought the representation was merely as usual allegorical of the results of sloth and industry, or virtue and vice.

The PRESIDENT pointed out that the upper line of foliage appeared to be of a different character from the rest, and asked whether it was likely to be of the same date.

Mr. HUGO thought it was so.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said the church was of an early character, probably late in the 14th century, and had been restored carefully and well. The date was very likely Richard II, and the windows were the same. There was no staircase to the rood loft, but he was informed that when the wall was rebuilt it was not considered necessary to rebuild the staircase from the outer wall. It was a rood loft, and not merely a rood screen. In the chancel there were remains of an earlier church of the 13th cen-

tury. The tower belonged to a later period, but Richard II would do well for it. He thought the greater part of the church was built in the latter part of the 14th century.

The Rev. J. P. HEWETT (rector) mentioned that in the year 1825 the screen, which until then had been in its original state, was covered with a coat of oak paint over the colouring.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., describing the tower from the exterior, said it was remarkable, the treble set of gargoyles being very unusual. The two lower ones could only have been meant for ornaments. It was certainly earlier than the general character of Somersetshire towers.

The PRESIDENT pointed out in the south-west corner of the churchyard a spot which was used as a great burying-place for gipsies, who were brought from all parts of the country to be buried there.

Ascending a hill in the rear of the church the party found themselves in

Norton Camp.*

The Rev. Prebendary SCARTH, before entering the camp or city, pointed out the line of fortification from east to west, and the area on the top where the city stood, together with the circuit of the entrenchment. It was an entrenchment, he said, which had not been understood in former times. It had fallen to him to take them over three or four earthworks in succession—first the noble one at Cadbury, near Wincanton, one of the finest in England, and last year at Hambdon, with its undoubted Roman entrenchment following the course of the hill, amphitheatre, and curious stones. The circuit of the latter camp was

* A paper on this camp, by the late Rev. F. Warre, will be found in the first volume of the Society's Proceedings.

three miles, but a great portion of it had been destroyed by quarrying. There were also the camps of Clifton Down, which he had the opportunity of explaining some time ago.* At Norton the entrenchments seem to have been of a different kind, and simple earthworks, resembling those at Kenchester. The form of the city they were about to enter strongly reminded him of Kenchester, the Roman Magna, and also, in some degree, of Silchester. It had very much the appearance of an ancient Roman city, and stood at the intersection of two ancient Roman roads, which had not been quite made out. He looked upon it as the origin of the town of Taunton, and it was occupied, probably, in times prior to the Romans. It did not convey the idea of a British stronghold, although it might have been an inferior one. Having made part of the circuit of the field crowning the hill, he pointed out places where natural depressions and spurs had been improved by the holders of the camp, and also sections of the rampart and covered road.

Mr. W. A. JONES stated that in digging for the railway, in the valley below the hill, a large collection of Roman pottery was found. It was now in the Museum, and he recommended its inspection.

Prebendary SCARTH, in a field sloping to the west, pointed out what he believed to have been the amphitheatre. It was, he said, four years ago since the Society went to Charter House and Mendip, and saw one of the camp amphitheatres, not very far distant from the camp itself. Last year they saw one within the enclosure on Ham Hill. Directly he came here and looked at the regular form of this depression, he had very little doubt

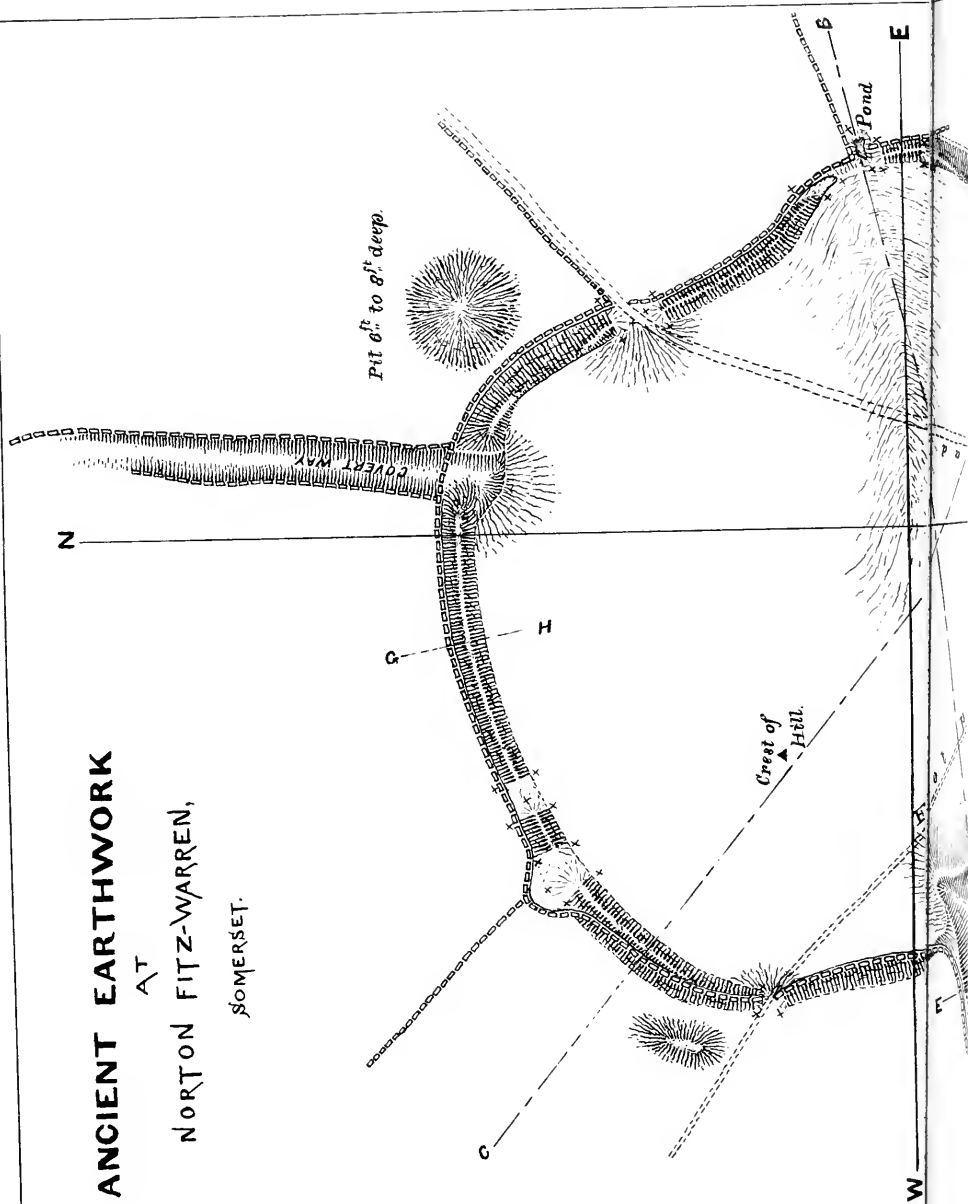
* Proceedings of the Society, Vol. XV., p. 30.

ANCIENT EARTHWORK

AT

NORTON FITZ-WARREN,

SOMERSET.



that it was the amphitheatre of the camp. He had examined those at Silchester, Cirencester, and Dorchester, the latter remains being perhaps the most perfect of any. The amphitheatre was generally situated outside the gates of the camp, and not far from it, and was constructed for the purpose of exercises and exhibitions of various kinds. Legions often had their private gladiators for the sake of their own amusement. This, then, was one of the proofs that the place had been under Roman occupation, but he could not say that it was made exclusively by the Romans. People might say it was a pond, but in that case they would not find it so regular after the lapse of so many years under the plough. The seats had naturally been effaced. The irregularity of the rampart was no proof that it was not Roman, because when the Romans took possession of a hill they adapted the fortification to its form. No inscriptions are recorded to have been found there, and no altars, which generally enabled persons to fix the date, but these were often wantonly destroyed or neglected, and lost. It was a melancholy thing that the inscriptions, altars, mile-stones, and other remains of Roman times had been so frequently destroyed. Only, perhaps, one or two Roman mile-stones had been found in this part of the country.

Mr. W. A. JONES, speaking of the Roman occupation, said that within two miles as the crow flies of the Cothelstone tower, there were still remains of a Roman camp such as Mr. Clark described on Tuesday.

Mr. G. T. CLARK said that when any earthwork was observed to be rectangular in its outline, the presumption was that it was Roman ; but if traces of Roman occupation were found around, the presumption was turned into a certainty. The entrances to this camp appeared to be of

the usual form of British entrances, and he thought that the spot was occupied, not by a disciplined body of men, but by a tribe, though the Romans might have modified it. As to the depression in question, he must confess that he had doubts as to it having been an amphitheatre.

The remaining portions of the camp having been investigated, an onward move was made to

Bishops Cull Church.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said there was very little to say about the edifice. There were just the remains of an old chancel, and the most curious thing in the church was the bench-end representing the Resurrection. A most peculiar feature was the octagonal tower.

Mr. W. A. JONES explained the history of the shields in the chancel window, and remarked that here was the tomb-stone of Dr. Crotch.

The Manor House,

formerly the residence of the Farewells, with its rich stone porch and armorial bearings, carved in stone, having been inspected by the courtesy of Mr. Johnson, the excursionists returned to Taunton; many, however, paid a visit to Trull Church.

Evening Meeting.

There was a Meeting in the Great Hall of the Castle in the evening. The President occupied the chair, and called upon

Mr. W. A. JONES, M.A., who read a paper "On the Customs of the Manor of Taunton Deane," which is printed in Part II. page 77.

At the conclusion of the reading,

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON remarked that they were again in the place where the Society was formed, and nothing could be more appropriate than that they should have such an account of the customs connected with the place as Mr. Jones had given them. The enquiry into the boundaries of our ancient parishes, hundreds, and counties, was attended with a great deal of difficulty ; but there were materials scattered throughout their borders from which information might be obtained. There was no reason to suppose that the local laws, of which Mr. Jones had spoken, differed from the rest of the kingdom of Wessex. They owed Mr. Jones great thanks for arranging everything connected with his subject so clearly and admirably. Mr. Jones was a person to whom the Society was more indebted now than to any other person, since they had lost their dear friend Mr. Warre, who was one of the founders of the Society. He therefore moved that the thanks of the meeting be given to Mr. Jones.

Mr. J. BATTEN, in seconding the proposition, observed that there was nothing peculiar in the customs except in the minor details.

The PRESIDENT, in putting the motion to the meeting, expressed his hearty thanks to Mr. Jones for the extremely valuable paper he had given.

The vote was carried by acclamation.

The Rev. W. TUCKWELL, M.A., read a paper "On the Flora of the Quantocks," which will be found in Part II., page 177.

The PRESIDENT spoke eulogistically of the manner of treatment adopted, and called for a vote of thanks, which was readily given.

The Rev. H. H. WINWOOD said the flora of the

Quantocks might have been worked out, but the geology of the range was not, and there was a great deal to be done there now.

The PRESIDENT strongly recommended botanists to study the soil and subsoil upon which the plants grew. This was of the greatest possible importance, and by such means two or three sciences could be joined together; the enjoyment would be enhanced, and many secrets of nature laid bare.

The Rev. J. COLEMAN then read the following

Extracts from the Parish Register of Stoke St.
Gregory.

I am about to occupy your time for ten minutes with some extracts from the old register-books of the parish of Stoke St. Gregory. Most of them, I venture to think, have some interest of a local character.

The first page of the oldest register of the parish of Stoke St. Gregory is occupied with this preface—

“A register of weddings, christnings, and burialls within the parish of Gregoristoke from the yere of our Lord 1561, till this present year 1600, diligentlie pūsed and faithfully copied out of the old booke (according to the order in that be halfe prouided) by mee, Thomas Cutler, curate of the said parish.

“Now, whereas by the said order it was appointed that this book should be copied out from the first yere of the raigne of our soueraigne lady Queen Elizabeth, sithens which yere the book was by theiues amongst other things stollen out of the church, and therefore wanteth four yeres: and then ab anno domini, 1561, till the yere 1573, so indiscreetly handled that when the book was shewed before the Queene’s visitours, the parishioners, as I have herd by credible report, were grievously amerced.

“Therefore I hope euery indifferent man will charitably

judge of my dealing in copying out of this book, for I haue doon it as I could, and not as I would, yet somewhat better than I found it. I present it to your vewe. Yours in the Lord, Thomas Cutler."

The same religious regard for the parish register which is shown in "Master Thomas Cutler, minister of this parish of Gregoristoke," by this first extract, appears also in the next page. It is an apology for his change from the old style to the new—"and all done (he adds) in the English tung for euery man to reade, being desirous rather to benefit other then at the handes of the unlearned to hunt for comendacion of learning, being altogether unworthy thereof.—Yours, Thomas Cutler." πάντοτε δόξα Θεῷ

A series of historical events is noted as follows :—

1. Queen of Scots beheaded, February 8, ano domini 1586. The sumer next following was whete at 7s. 6d. ye bushell.

2. A great earthquake in most parts of England, Apr. 6, 1580.

3. England invaded by Spaniards, July 21, 1580.

4. Whete sold for 17s. a bushel in ano dom. 1597.

5. Earle of Essex beheaded, Feb. 25, ano dom. 1601.

6. Queen Elizabeth departed this life, March 24, 1602 :

7. King James was proclaymed King of England eodem die.

8. An horrible treason by gunpowder disclosed Novemb. 5, 1605.

Battle of Sedgemoor, July 6, 1685, between 1 and 2.30 a.m. Monday morning.

After this follows an entry made in the year 1719 :—

"The scription in a window of our Parish Church of Gregory stoke is this,—

"Will's Conqueror, occiso Haraldo, Regno potitus, istam ecclesiam in suis possessionibus."

E. Pierce, Vicar 1719.

This was the Rev. Ezra Pierce, who was vicar of North

Curry, and planted the trees in the churchyard of that parish.

Next occurs this entry :—

“Memorandum, that Richard Maiente, of the city of Exeter, supposed to be a Papist, read the oath of supremacy in the Chancell of Gregorie Stoke, on Sunday the 22nd of August anno dmi. 1624, and then and there did receive the Communion at the hands of mee Tristram Lawrence, then minister of the Parish of Gregory Stoke aforesayd.”

Another entry is this :—

Gregory Stoke Procession for viewing the bounds of the parish was May 28th and 29th 1717. By common guess 22 miles round.

Ezra Pierce, Vicar.

Thomas Gander	} Churchwardens.
Thomas Hemborough	

In A.D. 1712 the parish is for the first time called Stoke St. Gregory, the name of its patron saint having always before this preceded, *e.g.*, Gregory-Stoke.

Were I addressing an audience composed of my former parishioners, their old parish registers would supply me with many a topic both of interest and amusement to them, but the members of this Association could justly charge me with wearying them out if I favoured them with purely local matters, connecting the past with the present. But there are yet one or two matters, common alike to this and other parishes, suggested by a search into the registers of Stoke St. Gregory.

As late as 1798 there was a Quakers' Meeting House standing in the parish, all traces of which are gone ; and there was ground which is named “The Quakers' Burying Platt,” where at least twelve bodies are recorded to have been interred between A.D. 1689 and A.D. 1692.

In the hamlet of Stathe, some two miles from the parish

church, there is a field called Chapplehay. On this site there was an ancient chapel standing, and bodies were there interred. All traces of the use to which this ground has, in days gone by, been put is now effaced. Such instances of fields now given over to the plough or the dairy, but once set apart as God's acre, and still having buried there stones of the sanctuary, are by no means uncommon in the county ; and it seems to me a work worthy of this Society, and one which would meet with sympathy from those most immediately interested in the lands, if an effort were made to erect upon these sites some slight memorial of their having once been devoted to the worship and service of Almighty God.

I have here some original presentments made by the churchwardens of Stoke St. Gregory and North Curry, in the years 1664, 1673, 1680, and 1698, the first of which is curious :—

Gregory Stoke—The presentment of the churchwardens and sideman of Gregory Stoke, made at the visitacōn of the Wor^{ll} William Peirs, Doctor of Divinity, official to the Right Wor^{ll} the Deane and Chapter of the Cathedrale Church in Wells, the fourteenth day of October, 1664.

Imp^{ris} wee p'sent ye Church Leads to be in some defect and out of reparacōn.

Item wee p'sent wee have no white linnen cloth for ye Coṃunion Table.

Item that wee have no booke of homilies.

Item that wee have no Surplice.

Item that wee have no booke to write the names and licences of strange preachers.

Item that wee have no Herse cloth for ye buriall of ye dead.

Item wee p'sent that ye Minister hath not yet p'formed his office in Cathechising the children because he hath two cures to serve.

Item wee p'sent Thomas Leaky and Emme his wife for incontineny before marriage, and ther of there hath been and is a cōmon fame in this the s^d P^{sh}

Item wee p'sent Marvell Jent the wife of Christopher Jent for causing of strife between her neighbours and for that she is a raylor.

Item wee p'sent Joseph Hancock for not paying his rates to the Church being four behind. William Sain for the like being 2s. 2d. behind. William Pocock for the like being 6 behind. Thomas Coombe, senr., for the like being 4d. behind. Elizabeth Ley, widdow, for the like being 8d. behind. Jane Powell, widdow, for the like being 01s. 04d. behind. Thomas Godwin for the like being 01s. 02d. behind. Gregory Powell, the elder, for the like being 01s. 06d. behind. Thomas Coombe, jun., for the like being 4d. behind.

Item wee p'sent the old Churchwardens for not giving up of their last Accompts, but they p'mise that it shall be speedily done.

John Willicomb	}	Churchwardens.
Wm. Clements		
		Gilburd Bray, Sideman.

The following is a presentment from the Churchwardens of North Curry in the year 1680 :—

Somsett	{	The P'sentment of the Churchwardens of the Parish Church of North Cory duely elected for the year 1680.
North Cory		
Peculiar		

Wee p'sent Herny Ffoster, William Brownsford Churchwardens for the last yeare, and William Verrier and Edward Derham als. Ffarmer, Churchwardens for the yeare before, for that they with the Confedracy of John Ffox, John Sanddy, Thomas Owen, and Robert Hill, jr. did take downe a bell out of the Tower of the parysh church of North Cory aforesd, and the same bell did carey away and refuse to bring it againe to the damage of the p'shionrs of the sayd parish ffifty pounds.

Robert Handall
Hennery Nurton.

The PRESIDENT observed that Mr. Coleman had opened an important mine of information, which revealed traits of character and local feeling, and enabled historians in future days to draw pictures which they would not otherwise be able to present.

Mr. W. E. SURTEES mentioned that a distinguished antiquarian of former days published a book of the interesting and curious extracts from the parish registers of the county of Durham. If Mr. Coleman or any other gentleman would follow that example in the interests of Somersetshire, he would confer upon the county a very great service.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., remarked that of the 16th century they had in Mr. Coleman's paper exactly such a collection of local annals as they might have had 700 or 800 years ago. These notices were the same sort of things which they found in the shorter and more meagre annals out of which our history was made. The main events of Elizabeth's reign were put down without note or comment, and, supposing that the larger histories were to vanish, they would be in much the same position in years to come, with regard to Elizabeth's history, as they were of early matters. It struck him how the old names were changing; this was plain from the records of Stoke St. Gregory. So also at the present time continual alterations were being made in the names of the colleges of Cambridge and streets all over the country, something grander than the original titles being sought. Every lane must now be turned into a "street," and thus some little bit of history was wiped out.

Mr. G. T. CLARK said there were not many parish registers which contained annals, but there was one valuable bit of information which could be derived from them—

the classification of the names. There was no body of men more active than rural clergymen, but there were times in the winter when they could find an opportunity to take up the registers and make a classification of the names, and draw certain conclusions as to the length of time names remained in the parish. They would thus derive a vast amount of information as to the transitional state of the rural population.

The PRESIDENT said that although names might not remain many years in a certain parish, they remained an enormous time in one neighbourhood.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON suspected it would be found that our names were curiously local.

Mr. E. CHISHOLM-BATTEN thought that names were very permanent in this neighbourhood. He had been told that the descendants of the people who took the body of William Rufus into Winchester were still in the same position of life, and bearing the same name.

Mr. M. J. C. BUCKLEY said that the common names of many of our English flowers had been changed after 1530. In many of the present names of plants we retained part of the original name and cut off the rest. It would be a very interesting and useful thing to rescue those names from the neglect into which they had fallen.

The Rev. THOS. HUGO, M.A., then read a paper "On the Hospital of St. Margaret, Taunton," which is given in Part II., page 100.

At the conclusion of the reading, a vote of thanks was passed to Mr. Hugo, on the motion of the President.

Mr. JOHN BATTEN proposed that the Annual Meeting for 1873 should be held at Sherborne.

Mr. JONES stated reasons why it should be held at Wells, but promised the attention of the Council to the subject.

Excursion: Thursday.

The members left Taunton in the morning on a second Excursion. After a brief halt to inspect the remains of ST. MARGARET'S HOSPITAL, on the outskirts of the town, the party proceeded to walk through the

Old Road to Bathpool.

At a point where the pitched causeway rises high above the road, a stoppage was made, and

The Rev. Prebendary SCARTH said his knowledge of Roman roads only extended to this country, many of which were in deep hollows like this, but whether formed so, or worked by the lapse of ages, no one could say. They had the advantage of Mr. Parker's company, however. He knew the ancient roads in Italy, and might be able to say something to determine what were original Roman roads in this country. There were certain places where the roads were worn into deep hollows as this was, but they could be traced best over hard hills where the plough had not been. In many places these roads were 16 feet wide, had a trench on each side in order to carry off the water, were formed of the materials of the country, and were perfectly hard. Then, chiefly in descending hills, they were found worn into deep hollows like this, but which unfortunately had been in the progress of improvement very much filled in. In the neighbourhood of Bath some of them had been completely filled in. He hoped, however, that this one would be preserved intact, for it was well worthy of preservation. Happily where he was at present residing he had a portion of glebe containing an old road very similar to this, on the road from Bridgwater

to Bristol. He prized it far more than the other portions of the land, and would take care that it should never be filled up while he could help it. These roads were among the most curious remains in England, and he had long wished for a perfect map of the Roman roads in Britain. One was a far too cautious map, and only represented those roads which every one knew. They had no doubt about the great military roads, but as there are certain turnpike and bye-roads used now, so there were in the times of the Romans. He had often pressed it at their meetings that there should be a good map made of Roman Britain. Each county society might take up the matter, but no single man could attempt to do justice to it. Two or three men in each county might undertake the task.

The Rev. T. HUGO said he had always thought that this road was constructed anterior to Roman times, by the original inhabitants of the country. There could be very little doubt at all events that it was used by the Romans. A road from this, running through Holloway, went not far from Castle Neroche; another diverging to the west carried them by Galmington and Wellington into Devonshire. By-and-bye they would get to a still more interesting point of the road. Here of course it was quite clear that the lapse of ages had resulted in the very worn and hollow way, but he was sure that for many years all the traffic of the west between Taunton, London, and Bristol came along this road. The pitched causeway was evidently intended for the use of foot passengers, and he should like to know the date of it.

Mr. R. K. M. KING pointed out one great peculiarity in regard to the pitched way. The Society, in walking through, would observe what had been noticed by the inhabitants for a great length of time—that whoever con-

structed the pitching, whether Romans or people anterior to them, very great pains indeed were taken to construct a permanent way. It was true that much of it was formed from the material of the parish, the hardest of the sandstone, but a large quantity of flint was also introduced, evidently from the Blackdown Hills, the very place from which they still obtained flint for their roads.

Mr. F. H. DICKINSON agreed that they ought to have some account taken of the old roads. Hollow roads occurred in all parts in the oolitic strata, because they would naturally sink.

Mr. W. A. JONES mentioned that they had a map in the Museum on which they had marked in blue what they considered to be the British roads and camps, and the Roman in red.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said no doubt these hollow ways were used by the Romans, but existed before their time. All over Gaul they were found very similar. They were in the fashion of the world 1,000 years before the Christian era, and remained in vogue to the first century. One of the discoveries which he had made in Rome was, that the roads were made in the hollows, and about the second century they began to raise the roads. Thus the Arch of Augustus had been filled up to the shoulders, while some of the arches stood at full height. The pitching of this road was mediæval entirely. Hollow ways were convenient, because every soldier carried a light shield upon his arm, and the wind made it very troublesome.

Advancing to a lower part of the road,

The Rev. THOS. HUGO said that at various times encroachments had been made. The old road had been much altered since he was there last. The bridge on which they were standing was now not above half its

former width, and the last time he saw it the abutments were visible. The trees, too, which are now in the field were then in a line of hedge alongside of the road.

The walk was then resumed until the old road disappears at Bathpool Mill, near the bridge, where the carriages were waiting, and the party proceeded to

*Oldest Monkton Church.**

The stocks and whipping-post remain in the churchyard in a good state of preservation.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., said the church was to some extent a carrying out on a very much smaller and plainer scale of the type seen at Taunton, Bruton, and Martock—the clerestory with a large window. They also found, what was not very often discovered, the clerestory and the compass-roof together. It would be very much improved by the simple process of making a string-course between the arcade and the clerestory. There were earlier bits preserved, but the general history was a common one. The tower had been added to an earlier building; then afterwards the nave was rebuilt, between the new tower and the old chancel.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., thought it pretty clear that the church was earlier than the generality of Somersetshire churches. The tower was of the date of Richard II, and the nave was later. The chancel arch, as very often happened, was one of the earliest parts of the church, and supported the roof on both sides. The probability was that it was Early English, of the same date as a window at the west end—about 1240 or 1250. The nave, probably, was built in the middle of the 15th century. Whether

* An engraving of the tower is given in the volume of the Society's Proceedings for 1852.

the east window was genuine was doubtful; if it was, it was clearly one of Edward III's time; but it looked suspiciously modern. The tower was a good one of its kind, and not so elaborate as usual. The west door was particularly good, of the Early Perpendicular style.

Creech St. Michael Church

was next visited. In a niche over the porch is a mutilated representation of the Trinity, and a handsomely-carved reading-desk bears the date 1634.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., looked upon it as a very puzzling church to make out at a few minutes' notice. There was a great deal of the Early English, and much of the Perpendicular character, which might almost be called Transitional. Early English arches remained under the tower. The Perpendicular arch was an insertion, and the chancel arch had also been introduced. It was pretty clear that the greater part of the old walls remained, notwithstanding that the character had been changed. There was a very beautiful waggon-roof, with a remarkably rich cornice. It was one of the richest things he had seen for a long time. The roof of the chancel was pointed, that would indicate an earlier period. There were very curious arrangements in the little chapel, where the passage leading to the rood-loft had evidently been carried along the wall. There was also a corbel, as if there had been a wooden gallery. The rood-loft often was an extensive fabric in these buildings, and it might have been carried over the Early English arch. The tower was remarkably good Early English transitional work, and there was an additional story of the 15th century added.

Mr. R. K. M. KING drew attention to two or three points, with regard to family history in the parish. They

could see a very fine monument of one of the oldest families in the county. The name was Robert Cuffe, and he had reason to believe that the only living descendant of the family held land at the present time with Colonel Pinney. The date of the burial was 1597. Mr. Cuffe left two daughters, and at the time of his death he was owner of this large and rich parish, constituting the Manor of Creech. One of the daughters and co-heiresses, named Ann, married Sir Francis Warre, alluded to in Mr. Hugo's paper, and Sir Francis thus became entitled to one moiety of the manor. Thomas Warre had previously added to the domain of Hestercombe the adjoining Manor of West Monkton. The other daughter married a person of the name of Keyt. Attention having been called to some very perfect arms in the north chapel, they were pronounced by Mr. King to be those of a very ancient family named Ceeley, now extinct.

Mr. BATTEN said there had been alterations and improvements in the decorations made from time to time with no sparing hand, and these could hardly be accounted for otherwise than upon the hypothesis that the church was one of the earliest possessions of the Abbey of Montacute.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., standing in the churchyard, called attention to the remarkable tower. Many, he said, would call it Norman because of the flat buttresses, but he should not go so far back. Very likely the work was Early English. It was possible that the windows might have been altered, but there was no evidence of this. The upper belfry story was evidently an addition of the 15th century. The staircase seemed to have been so arranged as to afford access to the tower and the rood-loft. The west front was good Perpendicular, and there was a

very rich Decorated cross over the chancel. The outer arch of the porch might be Norman, but the interior was Early English.

After a long drive the excursionists arrived at North Curry, and proceeded first to Moredon, the residence of Major Barrett. Here the Society, by previous invitation, were entertained most hospitably in a marquee erected on the lawn. The President and Mr. Jones tendered the thanks of the Society for the reception accorded them, and Major Barrett, in response, declared that it had given him very great pleasure to receive them, and though it was the first visit he hoped it would not be the last, for he should be happy at any time to welcome the Society. A walk across the valley led to the church on the opposite eminence.

North Curry Church.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C.L., remarked that it was more than 20 years since he was at the place, and he was glad to have before him to refresh his memory an exceedingly accurate ground plan and minute account of the building, provided by Mr. Foster, a native of the place. The church was one of the earlier types of the county, very much altered, but less so than many. That cruciform shape was very common in Somersetshire in earlier, but rare in later times. The central towers had been frequently pulled down and erected at the west end, but so great a change had not taken place in this church. There seemed to have been a much earlier church here, of which a small fragment was still left. In the north aisle there was a good Norman doorway, with a segmental arch, and the President had shown very plainly that it was as it had been from the beginning. Setting aside that small remain, the church was a building of the middle of the 14th cen-

tury, largely recast in the 15th, but not so much so as to alter the original character, because they had left the central tower. As it stood in the 14th century it was a cross church, with very low walls and very high roof, keeping somewhat more of the character of an earlier time than was usual in the middle of the 14th century. They could trace pretty well the height of the walls by the low buttresses. He liked the north transept front exceedingly. The change which had been made in the north transept was the lowering of the roof, which must have been of an enormously high pitch, with very low walls. The east end of the choir was stuccoed, so that they could not trace the gables. The east window and side windows of the tower were, probably, of the 15th century. The tower remained untouched, and was the original octagonal tower of the 14th century. These towers were rather a feature in Somersetshire, although few, while in other counties they might never see one. They met with it again in Northamptonshire, but with this difference—the Somersetshire octagon was one with a square base. They could see that at Bishops Hull, Somerton, Puddymore, and Barton St. David's; while in Northamptonshire the octagon was set upon a square tower. There was another octagon at "Gregory Stoke," but that was more slender than this. The bold porch formed a feature of the church. The original roofs seemed to have been all of one level, but when the 15th century people touched the choir in the transept they raised the walls somewhat. There was no need, however, to have brought in any clerestory windows. There was a little window at the east belonging to the earlier church, showing the height. The porch was altogether an addition, and the west front had been recast in the Perpendicular. It very often happened in

the cruciform parish churches that the west end had nothing of an artistic design, but here it had still a certain degree of design about it which was pleasing and satisfactory. The parapet was pierced throughout, except in the transept. The church was under the care of his friend Sir George Gilbert Scott, and he was very glad to see that he did not mean to do any mischief. He had looked at the designs throughout, and did not see that anything would be destroyed, but the only doubt in his mind was whether it was quite wise to place a low spire on the tower. There was something to be said on both sides, but now that the high roofs were gone he doubted whether it was wise to put on the tower a feature which belonged to a past state of things into which the builders of the 15th century brought it. Still, he wished that other churches were likely to suffer as little harm as North Curry.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., thought that an octagonal wooden spire would be an immense improvement.

The PRESIDENT remarked that they had here a very large chancel, with a central tower. In the great number of instances a large chancel was connected with some religious house, and he should like to know whether it was so or not in this case. Such was the case at Dunster and many other places.

Mr. FREEMAN said that it belonged formerly to the church of Wells.

The VICAR (Rev. F. Harrison) said there were at one time four chapels belonging to the parish, and in a farmhouse the other day a roof was discovered which evidently belonged to one of those chapels. He said in reply to Mr. Freeman's enquiries about King John's connection with the parish, that the only fact known was the confirmation

by King John of the gift by Richard I of the manor and domain to the church of Wells.

Mr. E. A. FREEMAN, D.C L. (the party having entered the church) observed that the changes which had gone on could be seen there, but not so plainly as outside. It was plain that inside as well as outside the ground plan had been untouched. In the great central lantern they found the four arches of the earlier building, and it had been intended to fill in with stone. That was one of the commonest things to find a vault which was begun and never finished. The reason was this : it was much better to let the wall stay a bit before putting in the stone vault, and it frequently happened that this was never done, but that a wooden vault had been put on as here. If there was any reason why the walls would not bear a vault of stone, he did not see why they should not have one of wood, supposing that it did not pretend to be anything else. The builders seemed to have been satisfied with putting in a row of clerestory windows without adapting them in any way. The lack which they saw at West Monkton was visible again here. Evidently there was a great want of a string-course between the arcade and the clerestory, and the want was felt more here than at West Monkton.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., called attention to the corbels of the roof in the transept, which seemed to indicate that there had been a different roof there. In the arcade the continuous imposts, without moulding, were very common on the Continent, but very rare in England. There was a tradition that the tombs in the chancel came from Athelney.

In the vestry is a marble tablet, with a long inscription, relating to certain privileges and grotesque revelries, known as North Curry feast.

The VICAR, in reply to Canon Meade, said he was happy to state that these proceedings were not kept up now, but ceased about seven years ago. The feast was attended with a good deal of excess, and those interested in the "charities" were induced to give up their rights to the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. He pointed out the uncommon perfection of the registers.

The Rev. Prebendary SCARTH made a few remarks concerning the proposed transfer of parish registers from the custody of the clergy to a central department at London.

Mr. JONES asked whether the entries were transcripts from an old register.

The VICAR thought they must be, the caligraphy was so uniform.

The PRESIDENT asked whether any explanation could be given of the item £2 12s. "for four hospitals," and what institutions of such a nature were likely to have had any claim upon that parish for a periodical and uniform payment. It was a large sum to be given out of the parish funds, and not out of the offertory.

The VICAR exhibited an old staff which belonged to the borough of Newport, in the parish of North Curry.

The Rev. T. HUGO pointed out an entry in the register, stating that two persons about to be married gave an indemnity that they would not be chargeable to the parish, but would return in case of necessity to their own parish. Such indemnities, he said, were not unusually given years ago by strangers entering London.

Thorn Falcon Church

was visited on the return journey, and the curious ancient pewter Communion Service was examined.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., fixed the date of the church

at the 15th century. The tower was in a very genuine unaltered state ; there was an old waggon-roof, and the clerestory had two windows in it. The rood-loft was all on the western side of the chancel arch, and the rood-loft staircase was outside. In connection with the bench-ends, which were very good, he said he knew a clergyman in the neighbourhood of Oxford who had amused himself by carving the bench-ends of his church with his own hands. A great many of these were evidently carved by the clergy themselves, if not by the monks.

Mr. E. CHISHOLM-BATTEN showed that the date 1542 was on one, and stated that the parish was once called Thorn Fagan.

Ruishton Church

was the last place visited on the excursion, the church of Hatch Beauchamp having been passed over for want of time.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., said that at first sight it looked like most other Somersetshire churches, but there were considerable remains of two periods. There were remains of the Norman 12th century church. There was a fine Norman doorway, and the windows belonged to the date of the 13th century, the east window being of the end of the same century. A very curious feature was the hagioscope or "squint." The example was almost unique, and another remarkable feature was the window and the doorway left in the staircase leading to the rood-loft. The reredos had been made out of the rood-screen. The glass in the chancel window was uncommonly good—a fine imitation of the genuine English glass of the 15th century. The peculiarity of the deflection of two feet in the church he believed found an explanation in the fact that our forefathers were very careless in laying out their ground plans; else it might be that the nave was of one period, and the

chancel of another. There was a very lofty tower arch, and the font was a very remarkable one. In the churchyard was the base of a cross, sculptured with the four Evangelists.

A Conversazione

was held in the evening in the Museum of the Society. Numerous articles of antiquarian interest were sent for exhibition.

Mr. J. H. PARKER, C.B., exhibited a complete set of photographs of his recent researches in Rome, and gave a brief sketch of the excavations which had been made, partly under his own direction and partly under Government. These researches had, he said, thrown an entirely new light on the ancient history of the city, and brought them back to the Rome of their boyhood. The remains had been preserved for centuries in a remarkable manner, having been used as foundations for other buildings. The wall which he called the wall of Romulus, the founder of the city, was of earlier construction than any other in Rome, and agreed with the description of it given by Dionysius; and the remains of the capitolium, the public treasury, record office, and the senate house, also tallied with the materials to be gathered from classical literature. The city was evidently built upon ancient earthworks. There were remains of fortifications everywhere, and they could only have been made by the employment of the whole of the population upon them, which naturally caused the revolt recorded by historians.

Mr. E. B. TYLOR, LL.D., F.R.S., delivered an address on the growth of civilisation, illustrated by various weapons in the Museum. In the course of his remarks he said that

some of the customs of modern times, which we could not now understand the meaning of, were to be looked upon as "survivals" from a state of savagery, and concluded by urging greater attention to ethnology.

Votes of thanks were passed to Mr. Parker and Mr. Tylor, on the motion of the President, who, together with Mr. G. T. Clark and Mr. Freeman, took part in the proceedings.

Mr. JONES drew attention to a series of plans of ancient earthworks by Mr. C. W. Dymond, C.E., which he said were most valuable contributions to the history of pre-historic times. He also announced that Mr. Dymond had liberally offered that any of the plans relating to Somersetshire were at the service of the Society for publication in their Proceedings.

After thanks had been passed to Mr. Dymond,

The PRESIDENT congratulated the Society upon having had a most successful gathering, and cordial thanks having been voted to him on the motion of Mr. W. E. Surtees, the Annual Meeting for 1872 closed.

Local Museum.

Among the objects of interest exhibited during the Meeting were the following :—

Ancient Documents relating to the parish of Stoke Courcy, by the Rev. Dr. GOODFORD, Provost of Eton.

A demand of Charles I. for a loan of £10 upon Sir George Farewell, of Bishops Hull; a number of sketches, rubbings, news letters, &c., by Mr. W. A. JONES.

Oil sketches of views in the neighbourhood, by Mr. W. F. ELLIOT.

Bronze torque and celts found in the neighbourhood, by Mr. W. A. SANFORD.

Remains found on the site of a Roman villa at Stan-
chester, Curry Rivel, comprising coins, pottery, glass,
bronze ornaments, charred wood, &c., by Mr. W. W.
MUNCKTON.

Specimens of White's Thrush, *Turdus varius*, killed at
Hestercombe; Black Redstart, *Ruticilla Tithys*, Wood
Sandpiper, *Totanus glareola*, and Baillon's Crake, *Crex*
Bailloni, killed near Taunton; Iceland Gull, *Larus leu-*
copterus, and Glaucous Gull, *Larus glaucus*, killed at
Weston-super-Mare, by Mr. CECIL SMITH.

Specimens of the Crane, *Grus cinerea*, killed at Stol-
ford; Pied Flycatcher, *Muscicapa atricapilla*, Little Bittern,
Botaurus minutus, and Little Auk, *Mergulus melanoleucos*,
killed near Taunton, by Mr. C. HADDON.

Conversazione Meetings.

1873.

January 20th.

On the variation in the Plumage of Birds, by CECIL
SMITH, Esq.

An attempt to distinguish the old Brislington Ware,
by the Rev. I. S. GALE.

March 31st.

On Ozone, by H. J. ALFORD, Esq.

On Ancient Music and Instruments: Progress of
Notation, Early English Music and Modern De-
velopement, by C. H. FOX, Esq.

The Museum.

Additions since the publication of the last Volume :—

Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London.

The Archæological Journal.

Journal of the British Archæological Association.

Journal of the Royal Historical and Archæological Association of Ireland.

Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archæological Society.

Journal of the Royal Dublin Society.

Collections of the Surrey Archæological Society.

Proceedings of the Suffolk Institute of Archæology and Natural History.

Proceedings of the Geologists' Association.

Associated Architectural Societies' Report and Papers.

Various publications from the Royal Norwegian University of Christiania.

Proceedings of the Bath Natural History and Antiquarian Field Club.

Proceedings of the Bristol Naturalists' Society.

Evans's Stone Implements of Great Britain, by Mr. W. A. SANFORD.

Library of National Antiquities, vol. 2, *Vocabularies*, by Mr. JOSEPH MAYER.

An Account of the Saxon Church of St. Lawrence, Bradford-on-Avon, by the Author, Rev. W. H. JONES.

The Quantocks and their Associations, by the Author, Rev. W. L. NICHOLS.

Genealogical Memoranda relating to the family of Cooke of Kingsthorpe, by the Author, Mr. G. W. MARSHALL, LL.M.

Comparative View of the Monuments of India, by the Rev. O. S. HARRISON.

Drawing of a Tessellated Pavement found at Pitney, by the Rev. I. S. GALE.

The Black Book of Taymouth, by Mr. W. H. P. GORE LANGTON, M.P.

Encyclopædia of Heraldry, by Mr. G. W. MARSHALL.

Skull of Hyæna, 30 skins of birds, stones from the Diamond fields, Kaffir stool, and 52 articles of dress, ornaments, pipes, snuff-boxes, &c., 3 clubs, 4 spears, and 8 arrows, all from South Africa, by Mr. H. CORNISH.

Encaustic tiles, &c., from Athelney (purchased).

Papers and Documents relating to Taunton Elections and Charities, &c., from 1709 to 1722, by Mr. C. H. CORNISH.

Silver ores from the Flagstaff Mine, America, by Mr. O. W. MALET.

Lias fossils, from Yarcombe, by Mr. PERRY.

Japanese organ, by Mr. A. MAYNARD.

Cannon ball found at Sedgemoor, by Mr. J. CLAVEY.

Caudle cup, by Mr. R. PALMER.

Alligator's skull and claws, skin of boa, tortoise shell, Dyak war jackets, women's petticoats, waist cloths, seat mat, earrings, armlets, war charms, spear heads, spikes, swords, and shield, from H.H. THE RAJAH OF SARĀWAK.

Australian flying squirrel, a pair of Emeu's eggs, by Mr. J. BAKER.

Musical bow, from South Africa, by the Bath Royal Literary and Scientific Institution.

Chinese fiddle and bow, Chinese razor, Formosa catamaran, with oars, sails, &c., cowfish, by Sub-Lieut. W. H. M. DANIEL, H.M.S. "Dwarf."

Coal fossils from the Writhlington and Huish Collieries, and portion of elephant's tusk, by Mr. A. CHIVERS.

Ancient wood carving, by Mr. E. JEBOULT.

Roman coin found at Dunpole, near Ilminster ; Pottery

and bronze object found at Barbury Castle, Wiltshire, by Mr. E. SLOPER.

153 tokens and other coins, by the Rev. R. SYMES.

Fac-simile copy of the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, by Mr. H. F. MANLEY.

African Toga, by Mrs. PRING.

Pair of Japanese slippers, by Mr. P. D. PRANKERD.

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PAPERS, ETC.

King Ine.

BY EDWARD A. FREEMAN, D.C.L.

THE King of the West-Saxons, the conqueror, the lawgiver, the pilgrim to the threshold of the Apostles, stands out as one of the most famous names in the early history of the English people. In the history of his own West-Saxon Kingdom, above all in the history of our own shire, the place which he holds is naturally higher still. It was he, there can be little doubt, who put the last stroke to the work which Cæawlin had begun, and under whom the whole land of the Sumorsætas became

English. Four famous spots, within our own shire or on its immediate border, claim him as their first founder or as among the chiefest of their benefactors. His works in those four spots set him before us in various characters. He appears as a warrior extending the borders of his kingdom and providing for the security of his conquest by the erection of a border fortress. He appears also as a Christian ruler, not as a mere lavish giver to ecclesiastical bodies, but as an enlightened promoter of ecclesiastical changes which were clearly for the good of his people. He appears as the prince who divided an unwieldy bishoprick, and placed the worthiest man of his time and country as shepherd of the new flock which he called into being. If on this spot we are inclined to think first of him as the man who raised Taunton as a bulwark against the Briton, we must remember that he was also the man who first gave the western part of his dominions a Bishop of their own, and who placed the holy Ealdhelm in the chair of Sherborne which he had founded. And if Taunton and Sherborne, here the fortress, there the church, claim him without doubt as, in those characters, their first creator, two other famous spots claim him, with somewhat less of certainty, one as a founder, the other as a special benefactor. A King reigning over a people still divided in blood and speech, ruler alike of the conquering English and of the conquered Britons, he is set forth as the patron of the holy places of both alike. He spreads his bounty alike over the Church of the conquerors and the Church of the conquered; he is the second founder of British Glastonbury, the first founder of English Wells. And, as he appears in our local history or legend as the benefactor of the ecclesiastical foundations of both races, so he appears in the imperishable witness of his laws as the ruler and law-

giver of both alike. The Laws of Ine, in other respects among the most precious monuments of English antiquity, have yet a further and special value as the one authentic picture of the relations between English and Briton within the English dominion. Nor is it only in this more general way that the name of Ine is connected with the history of the Britons as well as with that of the English. The conquered race seems in some strange way to have laid hold of their conqueror and lawgiver; they have in some sort claimed him as their own, and have identified him with names that were renowned in their own history or tradition. And yet, famous as Ine is, there are few historical names of equal fame so much of whose history is puzzling and uncertain. The statements as to his descent are contradictory; the manner of his accession to the West-Saxon crown is unrecorded, but casual notices show that there must have been something unusual, if not irregular, about it. And much of the history of his reign is made up of casual, and not always very intelligible, notices of the same kind. We find him engaged in civil wars with men of his own nation and his own family, but as to the origin and object of their disputes we are left in the dark. It is to one of these casual notices that we owe the knowledge of that event of Ine's reign which most immediately interests us here, the first mention of the town in which we are now met. The earliest chapter in the history of Taunton is written backwards; its first building is recorded only to explain the more striking entry of its first burning.

Before we begin to comment on the particular actions of Ine himself, it may be well to take a general view of the state of things in which he was an actor. In the year 688, when Ine became King of the West-Saxons, 239 years had passed since the settlement of the first English

invaders in Britain ; 193 had passed since the first landing of the West-Saxons. It was 111 years since the great conquests of Ceawlin westwards, 91 years since the mission of Augustine, and 54 years since Christianity had been first preached to the West-Saxons by Birinus. These dates should be borne in mind, the last of them especially. All that we read of the acts and legislation of Ine and our other English Kings from this time so completely takes Christianity for granted that we are apt to forget how new a thing English Christianity then was. It was only a very few years before Ine's time that heathenism had been stamped out—by very different means in the two cases—in its two last strongholds among the English race, Sussex and the Isle of Wight. In Ine's own Wessex the baptism of the first Christian King was, at the time of his accession, an event exactly as far distant as the birth of our present Queen is distant from the year in which we are now living. At Ine's accession he must have had many subjects who had worshipped Thunder and Woden in their youth ; he may even have had some who secretly cherished the ancient worship in their hearts. His acts then, his laws, his foundations, his pilgrimage, must all be looked on as tinged with something of the zeal of recent conversion. As for the political state of Britain, the English Conquest had not yet by any means reached its fullest bounds ; one powerful British kingdom still remained for Ine himself to do battle with ; but destiny had long before decided against the Briton and in favour of the English invader. The great British power, which, a hundred and sixty years after the first English settlement, had still stretched in an unbroken mass from the Lands End to Dunbarton had been broken in pieces by the victories of Ceawlin and Æthelfrith. The territory which remained to the independent Briton now

lay in three fragments, each of which was now cut off from the others. There was the Northern Britain, Strathclyde, Cumberland, whatever we choose to call it, isolated from the other lands of the same race by the great victory of Æthelfrith under the walls of what was to be Chester. There was the central Britain, the North-Wales of our Chronicles, answering to the modern Principality, but with a far wider extent towards the east. This had been in the earlier campaigns of Ceawlin cut off from the third division, that with which we have most to do in the life of Ine and in the history of Wessex. The south-western Britain, the West-Wales of our Chronicles, the Kingdom of Cornwall, Damnonia, whatever name we may choose to give it, still remained powerful and independent. Cut off as it was in a corner, with no neighbour of its own race, with one neighbour only of the hostile race, its conquest by the advancing power of the English was only a question of time. But it was still strong enough to offer a stubborn resistance to the West-Saxon invader, strong enough to take advantage of any moments of weakness or of any diversions caused by warfare between Wessex and the other English powers themselves. Among those English powers, the precarious amount of union implied in the Bretwaldadom, whatever we may hold that amount to have been, was now in abeyance. The Bretwalda Oswiu of Northumberland had died in 670, and he had at any rate no acknowledged successor before Ecgberht. Three English states, Northumberland, Mercia, and Wessex, stood forth beyond all dispute in front of all the others. There was no longer any chance of the renewal of that earlier state of things when we find South-Saxon, Kentish, and East-Anglian princes on the roll of Bretwaldas. And, of the three great states, Northumberland was now sinking from the great position which it had held

earlier in the century. Mercia and Wessex might pass for rival states of nearly equal power, against neither of which could the smaller kingdoms to the east of them contend with any hope of success.

The boundaries of Wessex itself, the kingdom over which Ine was called to rule, were at this time in an intermediate state. The conquests of Wessex in the sixth century had aimed northwards rather than westwards. After the taking of Old Sarum by Cynric in 552, which secured the safety of the West-Saxon dominion in Hampshire and Wiltshire, the conquests of Cuthwulf and Ceawlin had given Wessex a great dominion north of the Avon and Thames, while they had barely grazed the great western peninsula by the first English conquest in our own shire, that of the land between Axe and Avon. Ceawlin had failed in his attempt to reach the northern sea, and to isolate the central as well as the Western Britain; the conquest of Deva had been reserved for the Northumbrian Æthelfrith. But he had fought at Bedford and at Fethanleah; he had changed Bensington and Eynsham, Aylesbury and Buckingham, Bath, Cirencester, and Gloucester, the ruins of Uriconium and an undefined land along the Severn, into English ground. At the beginning of the seventh century the West-Saxon power stretched over at least as large a dominion to the north of the Thames as it did to the south, while the great region contained in modern Cornwall, Devonshire, and the greater part of Somerset remained still untouched in the hands of the Briton. The Wessex of the ninth century and onwards was a state which might establish an external supremacy more or less complete to the north of Thames and Avon, but whose own actual and immediate boundary was sharply marked by the general course of those rivers as a well

defined boundary. Wessex in her earlier stage aimed chiefly at power in central and northern England. Wessex in her later form fell back on her more natural position as the great state of southern England, conquering, incorporating, largely assimilating, all the powers British or English lying south of the mouths of the two great rivers of southern Britain. The seventh and eight centuries set Wessex before us in a stage intermediate between the two, and the reign of Ine may perhaps be taken as the central point of the whole period. The work of those two centuries, as far as England was concerned, was to show that the true destiny of Wessex was to be cut short to the North and to extend herself to the East and West. Her Kings might win an external supremacy over all the Teutonic powers within the Island, or over the whole Island itself. She might incorporate herself and her Teutonic dependencies into an English Kingdom in which she was content to merge her own name and national being. But Wessex, by that name, was to keep herself from the lands north of the two rivers in order that she might more fully reign over all the lands to the south of them; she was to give up reigning at Gloucester and Buckingham in order that she might reign at Exeter and Canterbury.

The dominion then to which Ine succeeded has an anomalous look on the map of England. The older West-Saxon possessions in the Southern mainland, Hampshire, Wiltshire, Dorset, Surrey which Ceawlin had wrested from Æthelberht at the fight of Wimbledon, had never been lost. Wight, the dependent realm of the Jutish nephews of Cerdic, had been added by Wulfhere of Mercia to the South-Saxon Kingdom; but it had been won back for Wessex—by what means every reader of Bæda knows—by Ine's immediate predecessor Ceadwalla, and a supremacy

over Sussex had been won for Wessex by the sword of the same irresistible warrior.* To the north-east, beyond the Thames, Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire still remained West-Saxon ground; but to the north-west the conquests of Ceawlin in the Severn valley seem to have become Mercian under Penda, and the Avon was probably the boundary in a stricter sense than it was afterwards, as we hear long after of Bath being Mercian. But losses to the Mercian had been made up by gains from the Briton; the English frontier had been extended from the Axe to the Parret by the victories of Cenwealh in 652 and 658, and, a few years before Ine's accession, the frontier had probably been carried further still by the victory of Centwine in 682. These conquests, the first conquests of the Christian West-Saxons, the first in which the vanquished were neither enslaved nor swept from the face of the earth, were the part of his dominions which gave Ine the opportunity in his character of a legislator for two races under one government. He had no British subjects to legislate for in Hampshire or Oxfordshire. The legislation which fixed the relations within Ine's kingdom between the conquering Englishman and the conquered Briton must have been a legislation for the land of the Sumorsætas, and pretty well for the land of the Sumorsætas only.

Of the kingdom thus formed Ine took possession in

* Bæda IV. 15. "Interea superveniens cum exercitu Caedualla, juvenis strenuissimus de regio genere Genissorum, quum exsularet a patria sua, interfecit regem Ædiluach, ac provinciam illam sæva cæde ac depopulatione attrivit: sed mox expulsus est a ducibus regis, Bercthuno et Andhuno, qui deinceps regnum provincie tenuerunt: quorum prior postea ab eodem Caedualla, quum esset rex Genissorum, occisus est, et provincia graviore servitio subacta."

688, and held it, as the Chronicles say, thirty-seven winters, till his abdication in '726. An examination of his reign naturally suggests four chief subjects for inquiry; his descent and succession to the Crown; his wars foreign and domestic; his legislation; his ecclesiastical foundations. I will go on to speak of each of these in order.

The succession of Ine to the West-Saxon Kingdom is not a little obscure. The Chronicles simply have the formal phrase that he "feng to Westseaxna rice," without any explanation of the circumstances. But they supply us with a pedigree which shows that, though Ine came of the royal stock of Ceawlin, Cerdic, and Woden, he was not the descendant of any of the Kings who reigned immediately before him, just as he was not the forefather of any of the Kings who reigned after him. Bæda too introduces him vaguely as one of the royal house; and, in recording his abdication, the only fact about Ine besides his accession which he does record, he adds, no less vaguely, that he gave over his kingdom to those who were younger than himself.* Ine thus in a manner stands by himself in the list of West-Saxon Kings. He has no direct predecessor and no direct successor. There can be no doubt that he came in by that mixture of election and hereditary right, that choice by the nation out of a particular family, which formed the general law of the old Teutonic communities, and to which the political condition of Wessex gave special scope. The West-Saxon state was far from being a centralized or in any way closely united body, but it was not, like Mercia and, in a less degree, Northumberland and East-Anglia, a mere collection of small principalities

* Hist. Eccl. v. 7. "Successit in regnum Ini de stirpe regia, qui quum triginta et septem annis imperium tenuisset gentis illius et, ipse, relicto regno ac juvenioribus commendato," &c., &c.

of various origin, gathered together, whether by conquest or persuasion, under one dominant chief. There was a national and a family unity in the West-Saxon state from the beginning. There were many Kings, but there was always—save perhaps during that strange time after the death of Sexburh—one head King. And the head King and the lesser Kings alike seem all to have come of the one line of Cerdic. Each district, as it was conquered from the Welsh, seems to have become a new principality, the apanage of some member of the royal house. That is to say, the West-Saxon policy in these earlier times, when we have to infer a policy from scattered and incidental notices, was much the same as it was in the better known times after the days of Ecgberht, when West-Saxon Æthelings were set to reign as subordinate Kings over Kent and Sussex. Thus, when Eadwine invaded Wessex to avenge his wrongs on Cwichelm, five Kings of the West-Saxons, fighting no doubt under the banner of their kinsman and superior King, died in the battle against him.* It marks perhaps a certain advance in the ideas at once of royal power and of national unity when, a little later, we find the subordinate princes no longer distinctly spoken of as Kings, but bearing the lowlier title of *Subregulus* or *Under-King*. I will not here, while specially examining the life of Ine, stop to discuss that strange period in our West-Saxon history, those twelve years between the death of Cenwealh and the accession of Ceadwalla, when, according to Bæda, the Under-Kings succeeded for a while in getting rid of the central monarchy altogether.† The Chronicles, it is well known, give a regular succession of sovereigns

* Chron. Petrib. 626. “And he tha for on West-Seaxam mid fyrde, and afylde thær v. ciningas.”

† See Norman Conquest, i. 580.

during this time—I must not say of Kings, for the first of them is the Queen Sexburh, the one recorded instance of a female ruler till we come to the Empress Matilda in the twelfth century. Florence of Worcester was puzzled at the contradiction in his time. I am no less puzzled now, and Dr. Guest has not carried on his discourses on early English history far enough to help me. But one thing is important for our purpose. Whether the Kings mentioned in the interval were really Kings over all Wessex, or only some of the Under-Kings spoken of by Bæda, it is certain that all the Kings of this period sprang from the one house of Cerdic, and yet that no two in succession sprang from the same branch of that house. Cenwealh, according to the story, was succeeded by his widow Sexburh;* then came either Cenfus or his son Æscwine, sprung, like Cenwealh, from Cutha the son of Cynric, but not from the same son of Cutha.† Then the succession goes back to the former branch in the person of Centwine the brother of Cenwealh. Then came Ceadwalla, under whom at all events the national unity was restored.‡ In him the Crown passes from the line of Cutha back again to the line of Ceawlin, and under Ine we find it still in the line of Ceawlin, but in another branch of that

* All the Chronicles are distinct as to Sexburgh's reign of a year and they are followed by Florence, Henry of Huntingdon and all the later writers, but it is hard to force this and the story in Bæda into agreement.

† The Chronicles (674) give the pedigree. "Her feng Æscwine to rice on Westseaxum, se was Cenfusing; Cenfus Cenferthing; Cenferth Cuthgilsing; Cuthgils Ceolwulfing; Ceolwulf Cynricing; Cynric Cerdicing." But Florence had evidently seen an account in which Cenfus himself and not his son was made to succeed; "Deinde Cenfus duobus annis secundum dicta regis Ælfredi, juxta vero Chronicam Anglicam, filius ejus Æscwinus fere tribus annis regnavit."

‡ Bæda IV. 12. "Devictis atque amotis subregulis, Caedwalla suscepit imperium."

line.* And so the changes go on through the eighth century, till, in the person of Ecgberht, the crown of Wessex, and all that the crown of Wessex was to grow into, was fixed for ever in the descendants, not of Ine himself but of his brother Ingild.† Of all the intermediate Kings, Æthelings, and pretenders whom we read of between Ine and Ecgberht, each is said to have been sprung of the line of Cerdic, and to have been a kinsman of the King who reigned before him. In several cases the King who succeeds is spoken of as an Under-King or the son of an Under-King,‡ but in no case does the son succeed to the father or even the brother to the brother. The inference to my mind at least is clear. Within the one West-Saxon kingdom there were several principalities held by Under-Kings of the royal house, any one of whom, or any other member of the royal house, it was open to the nation at large to choose to the central kingship. In some cases the language of our authorities might lead us to suspect that Kings were chosen during the lifetime of their fathers. In the most

* Chronicles 685. "Ceadwalla wæs Cenbrihting; Cenbriht Ceadding; Ceadda Cuthing; Cutha Ceawlining; Ceawlin Cynricing; Cynric Cerdicing." Cenbriht the father of Ceadwalla would seem to be the person whose death is recorded in the Chronicles in the year 661 with the title of Cyning. In Florence he appears distinctly as "Cenbryht subregulus, Ceaulini scilicet regis pronepos, et pater Ceadwallae regis."

† Chronicles, 855. Æthelwulf wæs Ecgbrihting; Ecgbriht Ealhmunding; Ealhmund Eafing; Eafa Eopping; Eoppa Ingilding; Ingild wæs Ines brothur Westseaxna cyninges."

‡ In the genealogy in Florence, Ine himself is "filius subreguli Cenredi, abnepotis Regis Ceaulini." Æthelheard is "de prosapia Cerdici Regis, cui propinquus suus Cuthredus successit." Sigeberht is "filius Sigerici subreguli;" his brother Cyneheard is "clito;" Cynewulf and Beorhtric are both "de prosapia Cerdici Regis oriundus," and Ecgberht is "filius Alhmundi subreguli." In the Chronicles we read of "mæge," and in Henry of Huntingdon of "cognatus," but I doubt whether the fact of several Kings being sons of "subreguli," "undercyningas," come out so clearly elsewhere.

illustrious case, and that which most nearly concerns us, we know that it was so. Ine, the son of the Under-King Cenred, was called to the head kingship during his father's life-time. And it is plain that such a choice in no way displaced or supplanted the elder prince, nor does it seem to have been contrary to his wishes. That Ine succeeded Ceadwalla, that Ine was the son of Cenred, we learn from all our Chronicles and genealogies ; but that Ine was chosen King in the life-time of his father, and that the King continued to trust and honour his father the Under-King as the first among his counsellors, we learn only from the preamble of Ine's own Laws. There we read how Ine King of the West-Saxons puts forth his Laws "with thought and with lore of Cenred his father and Hedde his Bishop and Eorcenwold his Bishop, with all his Ealdormen and the eldest Witan of his people and eke of a mickle coming together of God's servants."*

Ine then was, beyond all doubt, the son of an Under-King Cenred, who survived his son's election to the supreme kingship.† He was the son of Cenred, the son

* Laws of Ine, Thorpe, Laws and Institutes i. 152. Schmid. 20. "Ic Ine, mid Godes gife Westseaxena Kyning, mid getheahte and mid lare Cênrêdes mines fæder and Heddes mînes biscepes and Eorcenwoldes mines biscepes, mid eallum minum ealdormonnum and thæm ieldstan witum minre theôde, and eac micelre gesomnunge Godes theôwa." I hardly know what to make of the charter of Nothelm of Sussex in Cod. Dipl. v. 36, bearing date 692, where, among other signatures, we read "Ego Coenredus Rex West-Saxonum consensi et subscripsi. Ego Ine consensi et propria manu subscripsi." This seems very strange, but Mr. Kemble does not mark it as spurious. See also Palgrave, English Commonwealth, ii. cclxxiv. Mon. Ang. vi. 1163.

† Two pedigrees of Iue are given in the Chronicles, one in 688, when his accession is recorded. "Thonne wæs se Ine Cenreding ; Cenred Ceolwolding ; Ceolwald wæs Cynegilses brothur and tha wæron Cuthwines suna Ceaulinges ; Ceaulin Cynricing ; Cynric Cerdicing." The other is in 856 gives the descent of Æthelwulf from Adam. The two of course coincide in the generations between Ingild and Cerdic. Cutha however

of Ceolwald, the son of Cutha, the son of Cuthwine, the son of Ceawlin, the son of Cynric, the son of Cerdic. He had a brother Ingild, the forefather of Ecgberht, and thereby of all the later West-Saxon Kings.* His two sisters Cwenburh and Cuthburh, were, like so many daughters of Old-English Kings, enrolled among the saints.† Of these two Cuthburh has won for herself a high place in West-Saxon hagiology. After being for some while the wife of Ealdfrith King of the Northumbrians, she left

is inserted between Ceolwald and Cuthwine, and some of the manuscripts strangely insert Creoda between Cynric and Cerdic. William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Reg.* i. 35) describes Ine as "*Chinegisli ex patre Cuthbaldo pronepos*" which—the names Ceolwald and Cuthbald being evidently confounded—agrees with the entry under 688, only one cannot help fancying that William was thinking of the King Cynegils. But in the *Gesta Pontificum* (191) he gives Ine altogether a wrong father, Cissa; and again in 354, in quoting the charter of Baldred of which I shall have to speak again, he adds "*Subscripserunt his duabus cartis Hedda episcopus Wintoniensis, Kentuinus rex, Cissa pater Inæ postea regis.*" But the description of Cissa is an inference of his own, as in the Charter itself (*Cod. Dipl.* i. 32) the signature is simply "*signum manus Cisi.*" All this shows that there was some obscurity about Ine's pedigree, and the whole falls in with the singular description of Ine given by his own friend and kinsman Ealdhelm;

*Tertius accepit sceptrum regnator opirum
Quem clamant In incerto cognomine gentes,
Qui nunc imperium Saxonum jure gubernat."*

* William of Malmesbury (*Gest. Pont.* v. 188) refutes the story which made Saint Ealdhelm a nephew of Ine through a brother Kenten, a name by which we may perhaps understand Centwine. "*Ferunt quidam, incertum unde id assumpserint, fuisse nepotem Inæ regis West-Saxonum ex fratre Kenten. Nobis pro vero arrogare non libuit, quod videtur magis opinioni quadrare volaticæ quam veritati historicæ. Siquidem ex cronicis constet, quod Ina nullem fratrem præter Inigildum habuerit, qui paucis ante ipsum annis decessit. . . . Qui enim legit manualet librum regis Elfredi, repperiet Kenten, beati Aldhelmi patrem, non fuisse regis Inæ germanum, sed arcissima necessitudine consanguineum.*"

† The two sisters are mentioned in the Chronicles when the death of Ingild is recorded in 717 or 718. "*Hær Ingild Ines brother forthferde, and heora swystor wæron Cwenburh and Cuthburh and seo Cuthburh arærde that lif æt Winburnan, and heo wæs forgifen Ealdferthe Nordanhymbra kinge, and hie be him lifgendum hie gedældan.*"

him and became Abbess at Wimborne, and, after her church had been changed to a foundation of secular canons, she still remained its patron saint, and her head, enclosed in silver, was the great object of local reverence down to the time of Henry the Eighth. The wife of Ine bore the name of Æthelburh. She was herself of the royal house, and her brother Æthelheard, who succeeded Ine in the kingdom,* is spoken of as a kinsman of his predecessor.† We have however no means of tracing the pedigree of Æthelheard and Æthelburh to the common stock. A guess however may perhaps be allowed. It is about this time that the element *Æthel*, which was to form part of some of the most famous names in West-Saxon genealogy, first begins to appear in the family nomenclature of the West-Saxon house. Æthelheard, after his accession, found a rival in an Ætheling named Oswald, who is described as the son of Æthelbald, the son of Cynebald, the son of Cuthwine, the son of Ceawlin.‡ We may be pretty sure that Æthelheard, and Æthelburh also, belonged to the branch of the family in which we can trace the beginning of this change in the family nomen-

* I know of no direct evidence for making Æthelheard and Æthelburh brother and sister, except the spurious Charter of Ine to Glastonbury where he is made to sign as “Æthilhard frater Reginae.” Will. Malmes. de Antiq. Glaston. Gale. ii. 312. Cod. Dipl. i. 89. But for such a matter as this, a spurious Charter of early date—that is, earlier than William of Malmesbury—is some evidence, when it is not contradicted by anything better. Lappenberg accepts Æthelheard as Æthelburh’s brother without hesitation.

† William of Malmesbury (Gesta Regum i. 38) calls Æthelheard “Inæ consanguineus” and, in those manuscripts which contain the story of Æthelburh and the pigs, she appears as “femina sanc regii generis et animi,” so in Henry of Huntingdon (M. H. B. 725 A.) Æthelheard is Ine’s “cognatus.”

‡ Chronicles, 728. “Oswald wæs Æthelbalding; Æthelbald Cynebalding; Cynebald Cuthwining; Cuthwine Ceawling.”

clature. Of Queen Æthelburh, whose name very nearly concerns Taunton, we shall hear again in the course of our story. But it would seem that her marriage was childless ; at least no sons or daughters of Ine and Æthelburh find their way into history or genealogy.

Of the circumstances of the election of Ine we know nothing. But the influence which a King undoubtedly possessed in recommending a successor to the choice of the Witan would have still greater force when the King into whose place that successor had to step was still living, and might perhaps make his abdication conditional on the choice of a successor whom he approved. We may therefore set it down as almost certain that Ine was chosen at the recommendation of Ceadwalla. And the zeal with which we shall see that Ine took up the blood-feud of Ceadwalla looks the same way. Again, the importance which Æthelburh holds throughout the reign of her husband, and the accession of her brother at his death, seem to point to a special connexion between Ine and that branch of the family to which his wife belonged. On the other hand, we find Ine opposed by Æthelings of uncertain descent, Cynewulf and Eadbriht. I throw it out as a conjecture for whatever it may be worth that the successive elections of Ceadwalla, Ine, and Æthelheard point to a combined effort of the descendants of Ceawlin permanently to win back the Crown for their branch of the family, which had been shut out from the succession ever since the successful rebellion of Ceol against Ceawlin himself in 592.* Ceadwalla had at one time been banished, and

* See the *Chronicles*, 592, which entries become more clear in the genealogy of Florence of Worcester. “*Contra quem Ceol, filius fratris sui Cuthwlf, quem ante biennium regem sub se fecerat, immerito rebellavit, regnoque expellens, loco ejus quinque annis regnavit.*”

yet during his banishment he had been powerful enough to wage war in Sussex and to overthrow and slay the King Æthelwealh.* And several of our accounts point to a belief that Ceadwalla came to the Crown during the lifetime of Centwine, through an abdication, whether willing or constrained.† And may I add yet another conjecture? It was under the other branch of the family, the descendants of Cutha, that Christianity had made its way into Wessex. Can we in this way account for the strange fact of the unbaptized state of Ceadwalla? Had the descendants of Ceawlin remained heathens, and was the religious zeal of Ine, like the fiercer religious zeal of Ceadwalla, preeminently the zeal of a new convert?

Some little light may perhaps be thrown on the election and marriage of Ine by a very wild legend, but a legend which plainly had its birth in our own part of England. I mean the story preserved in the "*Historiola de Primordiis Episcopatus Somersetensis*," printed in Mr. Hunter's *Ecclesiastical Documents*. The whole condition of Wessex

* See the extract from Bæda above, p. 8.

† The passages on this subject are collected by Lappenberg, p. 253 of the original German, i. 258 of Thorpe's Translation. The most distinct passage is that in William of Mahmsbury. *Gest. Pont.* v. 205, "*Eodem tempore Kentuinus rex Westsaxonum morbo et senio gravis, Ceduallam, regii generis juvenem, successorem decreverat. Is ergo, quamvis nec adhuc rex nec Christianus, spe tamen regnum anticipabat, baptismum credulitate ambiebat.*" He quotes another passage from Ealdhelm, saying how Entwinus—which doubtless should be Centwinus—

"Rexit regnum plures feliciter annos,
Donec conversus cellam migravit in aliam,
Juste petit superas merites splendentibus arces;
Post nunc successit bello famosus et armis
Rex Cædwalla potens regni possessor ut hæres."

This is indirectly confirmed by the words of the Chronicle, 685. "*Her Ceadwalla ongann æfter rice winnan.*" On the other hand Henry of Huntingdon, M. H. B. 722 A., makes Cædwalla succeed on the death of Centwine; "*Centwino igitur Occidentalium Saxonum rege defuncto, Cædwalla post eum regnaus.*"

and of England, and of every person who plays a part in the story, is utterly misconceived. By an idea borrowed from the tenth or eleventh century, England is described as being under two Kings, one reigning to the south of the Humber, the other to the north of it. This latter, it may be hoped, to make the division at all equal, was able to make his supremacy felt as far as the Orkneys. The southern King dies, leaving no heir ; an interregnum full of all evil follows. The Bishops and great men meet in London to choose a King ; but first, like the Hebrews of old, they consult the Lord. By what means the divine oracle was given we are not told, but its purport was that they were to make him King who bore the name of *Ina*, the name being written according to the later corruption. Men are sent through all parts of the land to find some one called Ina. Some go as far as Devonshire and Cornwall, but all in vain ; so, full of weariness, they turn their faces again towards London. But on the way they pass by Somerton. There they chance to hear a churl as he tills his field shout loudly for Ina to bring his father's oxen. They ask his meaning, and he explains that Ina is the son of his partner. The youth presently shows himself, a tall, strong, young man of a goodly countenance, in whom they at once hail the King for whom they were searching. They wish to take him with them at once ; but his father and his neighbours will not let him go till they have received pledges that Ina shall suffer no harm. This done, Ina is led to London to the assembled great men of the realm. All men admire him ; he is at once chosen King with one consent and is consecrated by the Bishops.

Presently the King of the North dies, leaving an only daughter Adelburh as his heiress. Ina conceives the idea of marrying her, and so joining the two kingdoms into one

state, to which is given the Imperial name of *Monarchy*. Mr. Hunter assigns the work to the time of Henry the Second; to me I confess that this part of the story suggests the time of Edward the First and the schemes for a peaceful union of England and Scotland by a marriage. Ina makes his proposals by messengers, but Adelburh scorns the son of a churl. He then goes himself, without revealing his rank, but passing himself off as a messenger from King Ina. His suit is again refused; but he tarries in the Queen's court, and one day, at a great feast, he acts as her cupbearer. His beauty, now displayed to advantage in his rich official robes, makes an impression, too deep an impression, on the heart of Adelburh. He now declares who he is, and he no longer meets with a refusal. He goes home and sends messengers in proper form to demand her; she comes; the two are married at Wells, and Adelburh procures that that town shall be given to Bishop Daniel, who removes his episcopal chair thither from Congresbury.

I need not stop to point out how wild all this is as a description of anything that happened in Britain in the seventh century. It is not hard to see the bits from the histories, real or legendary, of Saul and David and our own Ælfred and Godwine which have been worked up into the story. And I hope there is no need to point out that no faith is to be given to stories about Bishops of Congresbury, or even about Bishops of Wells at any time before Eadward the Elder. But, as usual, some grains of wheat may be picked up among the chaff. One point is perhaps trifling, but is none the less characteristic. The legend preserves the notion of Ine being a rare name, a name for the bearer of which men had to seek far and wide. Now the name is certainly very rare; as far as I can remember, it is unique. Then the story of Ine's lowly

birth is, as we know, utterly false ; Ine was no churl's son, but an Ætheling ; but the story that a King was a churl's son could have been spread abroad only about a King whose accession had something about it that was strange and unexpected, and who stood far away from the most obvious line of succession. This exactly fits the case of Ine. It chimes in with the remark of William of Malmesbury that, although Ine was of royal descent, yet he was chosen less on account of his birth than on account of his personal qualities.* Then the story of Ine being found near Somerton, though no doubt a creation of local vanity, is a creation not altogether without some groundwork. It fits in with the many other hints in history and tradition which connect Ine more closely with our shire than with any other part of his kingdom. All these hints taken together may perhaps suggest the conjecture that the land of the Sumorsætas was the part of Wessex which Ine's father Cenred governed as Under-King. Then the story of the marriage of Ine and Æthelburh, wild as it is, fits in well with the various hints which we have as to the great importance and authority held by Ine's Queen throughout his reign. Nothing is more likely than that her marriage won for Ine the support of her brother Æthelheard and of her branch of the royal house. Then, in an age when Æthelings and Under-Kings were forgotten, the abiding tradition that Ine's power was in some degree founded upon his marriage would take the form of marrying him to some royal heiress beyond the bounds of Wessex. And, except at the particular moment which I hinted, it would most likely have sought for his wife, not

* *Gesta Regum*. i. 35. "Magis pro insitivæ virtutis industria, quam successivæ sobolis prosapia." This must be the meaning of this strange and affected language.

only beyond the bounds of Wessex but beyond the bounds of Britain. I think that this story is no bad example of the way in which small fragments of historical truth still remain embedded in strange guises even in the wildest of legends.

The isolated facts which form our annals of the reign of Ine all fall in with the belief that his accession was the triumph of one branch of the stock of Cerdic over another. No saying was ever wider of the mark than that of William of Malmesbury, when he ventures to speak of the reign of Ine as a time of perfect domestic peace, undisturbed by rivals or enemies.* It is quite certain that Ine had, at several points of his reign, to strive against foes of his own household. Two Æthelings, of what degree of kindred to the reigning King we are not told, died either in battle or by the hand of the headsman. And it is to be noticed that these disturbances belong wholly to the latter years of Ine's reign, and that the narrative reads as if the two events were connected, as if the enterprises, whatever they were, of the two disaffected Æthelings were parts of one movement against Ine's government. The only one of the rebels who comes out at all personally before us is described as a youth, one therefore who must have grown up during Ine's long reign. This looks as if those who deemed themselves wronged by Ine's election had handed on their grievances to their children, and as if, as in later times, the young Pretender was found more dangerous than the elder. Our first mention of these matters comes in 721, thirty-three years after Ine's accession, four years after

* William of Malmesbury, *Gesta Regum* i. 35. "Adeo annis duobus de quadraginta potestate functus, sine ullo insidiarum metu securus incanuit, sanctissimus publici amoris lenocinator."

the death of his brother Ingild. In that year we read that Ine slew the Ætheling Cynewulf.* Of this Ætheling, his descent, and the cause of his death, we know nothing more. But a revolt may be taken for granted, especially as what we read under the next year sounds like another act of the same drama. Now comes the entry which of all the events of Ine's reign concerns us most nearly in this place. In the Chronicles we read under the year 722, the year following the death of Cynewulf, that Queen Æthelburh threw down Taunton which Ine before had built, that Ealdbriht the exile sought shelter in Surrey and in Sussex, and that Ine fought with the South-Saxons.† The force of the passage as regards the history of Taunton I shall speak of presently. We are now concerned with it as a page in the history of the domestic quarrels of Ine's reign. From the entry of the Chronicles we suspect that the destruction of Taunton and the flight of Ealdbriht had something to do with one another, but we get no clear consecutive narrative. Florence simply translates the Chronicles, leaving out under this year all mention of Ealdbriht.‡ It is from Henry of Huntingdon, the preserver of so many ancient legends and fragments of ballads, that we get our connected account. Ine had, at some earlier time, built the fortress of Taunton. The fortress was now seized by the young Ealdbriht, an enemy of the King. But Queen Æthelburh marched against the

* Under 721 in three of the Chronicles we read "and thy ilcan gear Ine ofsloh Cynewulf." Two others add the title "thone ætheling."

† Chronicles, 722. "Her Æthelburh cwen towearp Tautun, the Ine ær timbrede, and Ealdbriht wræccea gewat on Suthrige and on Suthsexe, and Ine gefeaht with Suthsexan."

‡ Florence, 722. "Æthelburh regina castrum Tantun dictum penitus destruxit, quod prius rex Ine construxit, qui eodem anno cum Austratibus Saxonibus pugnavit."

place, besieged and took it, and drove Ealdbriht to seek shelter in Surrey and Sussex.* Surrey was part of the West-Saxon dominions, and the fact of Ealdbriht seeking shelter there suggests that he was an Under-King, or the son of an Under-King, in that district, just as his seizing the border fortress of Taunton suggests that his insurrection was made in league with the Welsh. A prince of Surrey might not feel much scruple about giving back such distant conquests to the Britons as the price of their help. Anyhow the story of Ealdbriht at Taunton is very like the story of Æthelwald at Wimborne in 901, only the town of Wimborne escaped better than the town of Taunton. As Æthelwald escaped to the Northumbrian Danes,† so now Ealdbriht escaped to the South-Saxons, unwilling dependents no doubt of Wessex, much as the Northumbrians were afterwards. War of course followed, and we read that in 725 Ine slew the Ætheling Ealdbriht whom he had before driven out.‡ But whether Ealdbriht

* Hen. Hunt. M.H.B. 724 DE. He tells the story backwards from the death of Ealdbriht; "Ine xxxvi. annoregni ejus exercitum suum in Sudsexe promovit, pugnavitque contra Sudsexas potenter et victoriose, et interfecit in eodem prælio Ealdbriht, quem prius fugaverat a castro quod vocatur Tantune, quod quidem rex Ine construxerat; sed quia juvenis prædictus Ealdbriht castrum introierat, qui regius hostis erat, Edelburh regina, uxor Ine, castrum cepit armis, captumque destruxit, et eum fugere compulit in Sudrei et Sudsexe."

† See the Chronicles under 901, 905.

‡ In some of the Chronicles we read under this year "And Ine gefeahrt with Suthseaxums and thær ofsloh Ealdberht thone ætheling the he ær utflemde." But Worcester and Peterborough, which contain this entry, have not the entry "Ine gefeahrt with Suthseaxam" under 722. Canterbury and Abingdon, which contain that entry, have no mention of Ealbriht's death. The Winchester Chronicle puts the South-Saxon war under both years; no version records any event in the two years between. The South-Saxon campaigns of Ine are also referred to by Bæda iv. 15; "Sed et Ini, qui post Cæduallam regnavit, simili provinciam illam afflictione plurimo annorum tempore mancipavit." This looks as if the war had gone on through the years under which the Chronicles have no entry.

died in battle like Æthelwald, or, like his probable accomplice Cynewulf, by the hand of the executioner, we are left to guess.

Here we have two cases—or one case, as we choose to reckon it—of revolts against Ine on the part of members of the royal house, men who doubtless thought themselves or their branch of the family wronged by Ine's possession of the Crown. And to these we may fairly add the revolt of Oswald against Æthelheard, as it was clearly a revolt against the arrangements made by Ine at his abdication. Ine had handed over the Crown to his kinsman, that is, he had recommended him to the Witan for election.* Hence, we can hardly doubt, the civil war in which Æthelheard fought with Oswald.† This revolt most likely was not of the same nature as the early revolts of Cynewulf and Ealdbriht. Oswald was a descendent of Ceawlin no less than Ine was, and, if my conjecture as to the origin of Æthelheard and Æthelburh be right, he was a nearer kinsman to Æthelheard than either of them was to Ine. Oswald's revolt would thus be a revolt, not on behalf of the other branch of the family, but only on behalf of Oswald himself. That he sought the Crown for himself we might have guessed even if we had not

* Bæda, in the passage already quoted, merely says that Ine went away "relicto regno ac juvenioribus commendato." That this vague phrase means Æthelheard would seem from the expressions of Florence 728; "Relicto imperio, ac Æthelhardo, de prosapia Cerdici regis oriundo, commendato," and of Henry of Huntingdon M. H. B. 725 A; "Relinquens Adelhardo cognato suo regnum." I know not whether any one will be tempted to make use of Bæda's plural form as the groundwork of a theory that Ine recommended Æthelheard and Oswald to a joint or divided kingship, and that Oswald was unfairly kept out of his share.

† Chron. 728. "And thy ilcan geare gefuhton Æthelheard and Oswald se ætheling." Florence translates; "Eodem anno præliati sunt Rex Æthelhardus et Oswaldus clito, filius Æthelbaldi, filii Cynebaldi, filii Cuthwini, filii Ceaulini."

been distinctly told so by the same authority from which we get the more detailed account of Ealdbriht's doings at Taunton. He gathered supporters enough to meet Æthelheard in the field and to hold up for some time against him. But the forces of the King were the stronger; the rebellious Ætheling had, after a hard struggle, to take to flight.* Where Ealdbriht sought shelter we know not; but his death is recorded two years later.† We hear nothing of its circumstances, but one writer bestows on him an epithet of admiration, if not of sympathy.‡

All however of the kinsfolk of Ine were not his enemies. The old West-Saxon government by Under-Kings of the royal house went on during his reign, and the names of some of them can be recovered. One of them was Ine's kinsman, brother-in-law, and successor, Æthelheard.|| Another was Nunna, his colleague in his war with the Welsh, who is, by a chronicler of his own house, not only adorned with the royal title, but actually placed before his

* Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 725 C. "Ædelhard rex Westsaxe primo anno regni sui pugnavit contra Oswald juvenem de regia stirpe, regnum idem sibi acquirere conantem. Oswald namque filius fuit Ædelbald, filii Chinebald, filii Cudwine, filii Ceaulin, filii Cinric. Cum autem juvenis, impar numero regalibus turmis, pondus praelii diu pertulisset, et ultra non posset, fuga regi regnum reliquit. Rex igitur praedictus in regno confortatus est." William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Regum* i. 38) gives a somewhat different account; "Successit principatui Edelardus, Inæ consanguineus, licet surgentes ejus primitias frequenter interpolaret Oswaldus regii sanguinis adolescens. Provincialibus enim in rebellionem excitatis, bello regem persequi conatus: sed non multo post, illo fatali sorte sublato, Edelardus per quatuordecim annos quietissime retentum regnum Cudredo cognato reliquit."

† *Chronicles*, 730.

‡ Florence, 730. "Oswaldus clito, vir strenuissimus, defunctus est."

|| For this again I can quote only, with the same reservation as before, the spurious Charter to Glastonbury (*Will. Malms. Ant. Glaston.* 311) where we read of the "hortatus Baldredi et Athelardi subregulorum."

overlord.* According to one account, Nunna appears, as is certainly quite possible, as one among several Under-Kings reigning in Sussex.† A third was Baldred, a man of whose acts nothing is recorded, but whose existence and importance is witnessed by divers signatures and other incidental notices, and who, we may suspect, was in possession of his dominions before Ine's accession.‡ Saint Ealdhelm also, though not the brother's son of Ine, seems certainly to have been a kinsman, and thus adds another to the loyal members of the kingly house.||

From the domestic troubles of Ine's reign we turn to his wars with his neighbours. These fall under two heads, those waged with the other English powers in Britain

* Chronicles, 710. "Ine and Nun [al. Nunna] his mæg gefuhton with Gerente Wala cynninge." So Florence, "Ine et Nun suus propinquus." But Patricius Consul Fabius Quaestor Æthelwerdus (ii. 12) tells us how "Nunna et Ine reges bellum gesserunt."

† The Charter of "Nothelmus Rex Suthsaxonum" already quoted (Cod. Dipl. v. 36) is witnessed among others by "Nunna Rex Suthsaxonum." Could a forger have hit on so unlikely a state of things?

‡ There is a Charter of Baldred's in Cod. Dipl. i. 32, dated in 688, issued "cum consilio et confirmatione Kentuini regis et omnium principum ac senatorum ejus," and witnessed by the "signum manus Ceduallani regis." This Mr. Kemble naturally marks as doubtful. But in the charter at p. 83, which Mr. Kemble seems to accept, the grant of Brent Knoll—"in monte et circa montem qui dicitur Brente"—is made "consentiente Baldredo," and it is signed by "Baldredus rex" and Æthelbaldus rex," by which last can hardly be meant the King of the Mercians. But the document cannot be, as Mr. Kemble thinks, of 723, as it is signed by Bishop Hæddi who died in 705. I have already mentioned one reference to Baldred in the spurious Glastonbury Charter. Later on in the same charter Ine is made to speak of him as a predecessor, along with Cenwealh, Centwine, and Ceadwalla. He is also spoken of as his predecessor in a charter of Cuthred marked as spurious in Cod. Dipl. i. 112. In a letter of Saint Ealdhelm in William of Malmesbury (*Gesta Pontificum*, 355), he is spoken of as "venerandus patricius Baldredus."

|| See the extract from William of Malmesbury, above p. 14.

and those waged against the common British enemy. His first war with the Kentishmen was the continuation of a family blood-feud inherited from his predecessor Ceadwalla. Ceadwalla and his brother Mul, besides the conquest of the Isle of Wight, which has been made more famous by the pathetic narrative of Bæda and its connexion with the history of Wilfrith,* made a series of incursions into the greater Jutish realm of Kent. The attack on Wight was at least the recovery of a lost dominion. But the words of the historian who tells the tale most at length, and who seems to have preserved to us the substance of a ballad in honour of Mul, might imply that the Kentish campaigns were waged without provocation, out of sheer love of fighting.† In the first inroad in 686 both the brothers, as yet unbaptized, took a part and harried the country without resistance. The next year Mul craved his brother's leave to make a second inroad, in the course of which, after committing pitiless havoc and destroying all things sacred and profane, he met with what even his panegyrist seems to look on as the just reward of his deeds. With twelve companions only, probably his own special *Gesithas*, he had gone into a house to plunder. A party of Kentishmen surrounded the house, set fire to it, and burned the West-Saxon Ætheling and all his comrades.‡

* See Bæda iv. 16.

† Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 722 A. Ceadwalla . . . auxilio Mul fratris sui, insulam Vectam suam viribus suis fecit ; namque frater ejus Mul, laudabilis et gratus, terribilis erat viribus et decorus aspectu : ideoque et omnibus amabilis erat, et famæ prærogativa clarissimus. Perrexerunt ergo fratres prædicti in Centensem provinciam, causa virium suarum exercitandarum et famæ ampliandæ."

‡ Chronicles, 687. "Her Mul wearth on Cent forbærned and othre xii. menn mid him." Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 722 DE. "Pergens igitur in Cent, non invenit qui ei resisteret, et terram prædando in solitudinem re-

Another fearful harrying of Kent by Ceadwalla himself was the immediate vengeance for the slaughter of Mul.* But this was not all. In the year after the death of Mul, Ceadwalla's crown passed to Ine. We are a little surprised to find Ine, six years later, demanding further satisfaction for the death of his kinsman. Did he merely

digens, et Christi servos immeritos affligens, maledicta eorum merita sensit. Nam cum hostes effeminatos duceret, et nihil sibi pro viribus prævideret, irruit in domum quamdam longe a suis, cum duodecim tantum militibus prædaturus; ubi inopinata multitudine circumventus, cum hostes interficiendo non deficeret nec proficeret, qui armis cædi non poterat, in ipsa domo cum duodecim militibus suis igne combustus est. Perit ergo flos juvenum et juvenilis evanuit exercitus." William of Malmsbury (i. 14) gives a somewhat different account, making Ceadwalla himself share in the expedition and suffer a defeat. "*Congressu superiores Kedwallam in terga vertunt [Cantuaritæ] fratreque in tugurium quoddam compulso, domunculam ipsam succendunt. Ita Mollo, dum erumpendi in hostem deesset audacia, et totis circa tectum habenis regnarent incendia, inter flammæ halitum ructavit.*" It is plain that he confounded the first joint expedition of Ceadwalla and Mul, and the second expedition of Mul only. The late Kentish writer William Thorn, the historian of Saint Augustines (X Scriptt. 1770), tells us "*Anno domini D.C. lxxxvij. Mulus rex alienigena moritur, et in ecclesia ista cum aliis regibus sepelitur.*" The church spoken of is Minster in Thanet. He goes on to tell the story much as it stands in Henry of Huntingdon, only adding that the death of Mul happened at Canterbury. He call him "*rex intrusor*" and "*frater regis Sussexiæ Cedwallii.*" Is this simply the confusion of a late writer for "*Westsaxiæ?*" or may we take this remarkable description as a sign of the impression which the earlier dealings of Ceadwalla with Sussex had made on the Kentish mind? It is dangerous to make inferences from these late writers, but they do sometimes preserve fragments of trustworthy tradition or even of lost records. The recognition of Mul as a King, even though coupled with the epithets "*alienigena*" and "*intrusor,*" is very remarkable. We might be tempted to infer that Mul was established by Ceadwalla as Under-King of Kent (722 E), so that the act of the Kentishmen might pass in the eyes of Ceadwalla and Ine for treason against their own King.

* So in all our authorities. Henry of Huntingdon, as usual, is the fullest. "*Hæc audiens Cedwalla, rursus ingressus est Cantiam, ubi mirabili cæde et innumera satiatu rapina, cum non inveniret quid cæderet vel raperet, ad sua magnus vindex et victor sævus rediit.*"

carry on a feud inherited from his predecessor, or had he some special ground of complaint of his own? What was the kindred between Ine and Mul? Both were Æthelings of the blood of Cerdic and Ceawlin. But according to some accounts their kindred was yet closer. One version of the *Chronicle*, certainly the latest and least trustworthy, calls Mul the brother of Ine, and this statement is supported by the further authority of *Florence*.^{*} It is quite certain that Ine and Mul were not sons of the same father, but it has been suggested that they were sons of the same mother,[†] a suggestion which I shall have again to speak of from another side, and that Mul was thus half-brother at once to Ceadwalla and to Ine. However this may be, Ine exacted vengeance for the blood of Mul, but he exacted it in a somewhat different fashion from Ceadwalla. A few years before, when Ecgrith of Northumberland was making ready to avenge the death of his brother Ælfwine, who had fallen in battle against Æthelred of Mercia, Archbishop Theodore had stepped in, and had persuaded Ecgrith, instead of shedding more blood, to accept from the Mercians the legal price of blood for his slain brother.[‡] We know not whether it was at the suggestion of Beorhtwald, the successor of Theodore and the

^{*} The late *Canterbury Chronicle*, under 694, recording the settlement of the Kentishmen with Ine, says that it was “farthan the hi Mul his brother forbærndon;” but the words “his brother” are not in any of the older versions. So *Florence*, “quia, ut prælibavimus, Mul germanum suum combussere.”

[†] Lappenberg, 256 of the German, i. 262 Thorpe.

[‡] *Bæda* iv. 21. “Theodorus Deo dilectus antistes divino functus auxilio, salutifera exhortatione cœptum tanti periculi funditus exstinguit incendium; adeo ut, pacatis alterutrum regibus ac populis, nullius anima hominis pro interfecto regis fratre, sed debita solummodo multa pecuniæ regi ultori daretur.”

first English Archbishop,* but it is certain that the Kentish King Wihtred, himself, like Ine, the lawgiver of his people, met the West-Saxon invader in a conference, and persuaded him, instead of harrying the divided land of Kent yet again, to accept, like Ecgrith, the lawful price of his kinsman's blood.† Ine agreed, and thirty thousand coins were paid as the *wergild* of Mul. The entry which records this payment is well known as one of the most important in our early history, alike for the history of the coinage and for the immemorial practice of the *wergild*. On the numismatic point I will not venture to enter, or to try to decide questions on which Kemble and Schmid differ. But it is plain that the sum paid was thirty thousand pieces of some kind.‡ Now there doubtless was a *wergild* for the King in Wessex, though the sum is not mentioned, and in the table of Northum-

* He succeeded Theodore in 692, after a vacancy of three years. The Chronicles add the comment, “Ær thissan wæron Romanisce biscopas.”

† Chronicles, 694. “Her Cantwara gethingedon with Ine and him gesealdon xxx thusenda, forthan tha hi ær Mul forbærndon.” As usual, we get the fullest details from Henry of Huntingdon, M. H. B. 723 B.C. “Ine rex castrorum acies ordinatas et terribiles in Cantiam deduxit, vindicaturus combustionem Mul cognati sui. Rex autem Withred obviam ei affuit, non cum feroci arrogantia, sed pacifica supplicatione; non cum freudentibus minis sed rhetorici mellis dulcedine, qua regi fero persuasit ut, armis depositis, multam pecuniæ a Centensibus acciperet pro cæde juvenis, et sic lis finita ruit, pax confirmata revixit.”

‡ See the whole passage discussed by Kemble, Saxons in England i. 281. He rules that the true text of the Chronicles is that which I have already quoted, where no coin is mentioned. The coins named in some versions of the Chronicles, as well as in Æthelheard, Florence, and William of Malmesbury, he holds to be conjectural fillings up. He himself determines the sum to be reckoned in Kentish *sceattas*, which Schmid, *Gesetze der Angelsachsen*, Glossary, Art. *Wergild*, rules to be too little.

brian and Mercian wergilds the price of the King is set at thirty thousand pieces, one half to his kinsfolk and one half to his people.* The price of the King is double the price of the Ætheling; that is to say, the family of the slain King receive the *wergild* of a man of princely rank, and his people receive an equal sum for the loss of the ruler whom they had set over them. Putting these two things together, it seems plain that the *wergild* paid for Mul was the *wergild* of a King, and from this two consequences may be held to follow; first that Mul, as we might almost have taken for granted, held the rank of Under-King, and secondly that an Under-King was entitled to the full royal wergild. The whole story is instructive, as showing, like that of Ecgfrith, that the principle of the wergild was held to be applicable to dealings between kingdom and kingdom, as well as between subjects of the same kingdom. But we are still left in the dark why, after a space of seven years, Ine should think it needful to exact the wergild from a people who, one might have thought, had already been punished enough by Ceadwalla's harrying. Anyhow there is something taking in the peaceful conference between the West-Saxon and the Kentish lawgiver, Ine, who in his laws strongly sets forth the principle of the old Italian commonwealths that force is in no case to be resorted to, till legal reparation has been refused,† would doubtless think it his duty to accept the

* Schmid. 396, 397. "Thæs cyninges wergyld sie mid Engla cynne on folcriht thryttig thusend thrimsa, and thæra xv. m. sien thæs wæres and other xv. m. thæs cynedômes, se wære belympath tô thâm mægthe thæs cyne-cynnes and thæt cyne-bôt tô thâm land-leôd." See Kemble i. 283.

† Ine's Laws 9, Schmid 24, "Gif hwâ wrace dô, ærthon he him ryhtes bidde, thæt he him onnime, âgife and forgielde, and gebete, mid xxx scill." Compare the story in Livy i. 22, 23.

wergild when it was offered. But the fact that it was offered probably points to the exhausted condition of the Kentish kingdom just at this time, at once torn by internal divisions* and still perhaps suffering from the ravages of Mul and of Ceadwalla. The language of most of our authorities would lead us to believe that the Kentishmen offered no resistance, but that, on Ine's entering the country, they at once sought to make peace by the offer of the wergild.† And it would almost seem as if Ine did more in Kent than simply accept the payment offered by Wihtred. From that time we are told that Wihtred reigned undisturbed in his kingdom, an improvement in his condition which may well have been owing to the powerful ally whose friendship he had purchased.‡

The Kentish campaigns of Ine must have virtually established the West-Saxon supremacy over all the English states south of the Thames. Save during the momentary

* This comes out forcibly in all our accounts, and two of the Chronicles remark pointedly under 692, "Da wæran ii. cingas on Cent, Wihtred and Webheard." Henry of Huntingdon (723 B) says pointedly "*Eo tempore erant duo reges in Cent non tam secundum stirpem regiam quam secundum invasionem.*" So Bæda, v. 8, "*regnantibus in Cantia Victredo et Suæbhardo,*" but these might after all be only the Kings of East and West Kent.

† See the extracts above in p. 30. William of Malmesbury alone (i. 35) suggests anything like warfare; "*Provinciales paulisper resistere ausi, mox, omnibus tentatis et viribus in ventum effusis, cum nihil in pectore Inæ quod ignaviæ conducere reperissent, dispendiorum suorum intuitu dediti consuluere: tentant regium animum muneribus, sollicitant promissis, nundinantur pacem triginta millibus auri mancis ut pretio mollitus bellum solveret, metallo præstrictus receptui caneret.*"

‡ The word "friendship" occurs only in the latest version of the Chronicles; "*Hig giban him xxx thusenda to freondscipe.*" But they all immediately speak of Wihtred as taking to the Kentish Kingdom, whereas he had before been spoken of as one King taken out of two. Henry of Huntingdon (723 C) says pointedly "*Rex Centensis abhinc semper in pace regnavit.*"

Mercian domination which, in the course of the eighth century, for a while overthrew Wessex itself, Kent and Sussex henceforth appear as West-Saxon dependencies. And, if we can venture to accept the notice of Nunna as a South-Saxon King,* we see that the policy which prevailed a little later of putting those dependencies under West-Saxon Æthelings as Under-Kings was already beginning. This extension of power to the south was, as we have seen, to be presently counterbalanced by loss of power to the north, but it does not appear that the northern dominion of Wessex went back during the reign of Ine. Indeed from one or two incidental notices we may infer that it advanced. William of Malmesbury speaks, in somewhat obscure language, of a triumphant campaign of Ine against the East-Angles, of which I can find no mention in any other writer.† But wars and victories of Ine on that side of England seem to be implied in the fact that, in the preamble to his Laws, he could speak of the Bishop of London as “my Bishop.”‡ The great city placed at the point of meeting of so many kingdoms, perhaps indeed the whole of the East-Saxon kingdom and diocese, must, in the seventeenth year of Ine’s reign, have acknowledged at least his supremacy.

* See above p. 26

† Will. Malmes. i. 35. “Nec solum Cantuaritæ, sed et Orientales Angli hæreditarium exceperunt odium, omni nobilitate primo pulsa, post etiam bello fusa.”

‡ Earcenwold, “my Bishop,” whom we have seen as one of Ine’s counsellors in putting forth his Laws, was Bishop of London from 675 to 693. See Bæda iv. 6. Flor. Wig. 675. Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 142. London was therefore in Ine’s possession before 693. This bears out the remark of Lingard i. 158, that “Essex (by what means is unknown) had already been annexed to his crown.” But I do not understand his reference to William of Malmesbury, who speaks, not of the East-Saxons but of the East-Angles.

Of wars with Mercia, which, in the next reign, become the main subject of West-Saxon history, we hear only once under Ine. But that single notice is one which makes us eagerly wish to learn something more as to the relations between the two rival kingdoms. A battle, said to have been attended with unusual and equal slaughter on both sides, was fought in 715 between Ine and Ceolred of Mercia “æt Wodnesbeorge” or “æt Woddesbeorge.”* This is most likely Wanborough in Wiltshire, a place on the heights near Swindon, conspicuous for the singular outline of its church with a western tower and a central spirelet. A fight at such a point implies an invasion of the West-Saxon territory by the Mercian King. The description of the battle itself, and the absence of any recorded results, would lead us to think that, after a drawn battle—for the victory is not assigned to either side—Ceolred found that the better part of valour prompted him to go home again.

We now come to the wars of Ine with the Welsh. And these suggest an earlier question, namely as to Ine’s personal relations to the British nation. It has been hinted that he was something more than the conqueror and lawgiver of the Britons, that he was one of themselves, at least through one of his parents. There exists, in the form of Welsh history, a burlesque of the true history of Centwine, Ceadwalla, and Ine, which really

* The Chronicles, 715, simply say “Her Ine and Ceolred gefuhton æt Wodnesbeorge.” So Florence. William of Malmesbury does not mention the Mercian warfare. It is in Henry of Huntingdon (M. H. B. 724 C.) that we read “Ine xxvi. anno regni sui pugnavit contra Ceolred regem Merce, filium Edelredi regis, apud Wonebirih; adeo autem horribiliter pugnatum est utrinque, ut nesciatur cui clades detestabilior contigerit.”

goes further away from the truth than the Somerton romance about Ine's election and marriage. The English heroes are turned into Britons and are made to win victories over the English, while the one Welsh prince whose existence is really ascertained, the one who plays a real part in the history of the time, is wholly left out of the story. Of the existence of Gerent King of West-Wales there is no doubt; he was the adversary of Ine and the correspondent of Ealdhelm; but he does not figure in the Welsh legend. Instead of him we get Cadwalader and Ivor, and the chief actions attributed to them are simply borrowed from the real actions of Ceadwalla and Ine. The chances are that they are real persons, and that the likeness of their names to those of the English princes suggested the bold step of attributing their deeds to them also. In the Latin text of the *Annales Cambriæ* we read that in 682 Catgualart the son of Catguolaum died of a general mortality which seems to have affected all Britain.* This entry we might pass by without notice. But, if we stop to think about it at all, we can have no manner of doubt that it means that Catgualart died in Britain of the plague under which the country was suffering. One cannot doubt that the Catgualart of the Annals is the same person as the Kadwaladyr of the legend, and we may pretty safely set down that the authentic history of Cadwalader—or whatever the right name is—is about as long as the authentic history of Roland; that is to say, it consists of the date and manner of his death. If we turn from the simple entry of the Annals to the version of the *Brut y Tywysogion* published by the Master of the

* Ann. Camb. 682. "Mortalitas magna fuit in Britannia, in qua Catgualart filius Catguolaum obiit."

Rolls, we shall find that our hero has grown a good deal. We now hear that in 681, the year of the great mortality, "Cadwalader the Blessed, the son of Cadwallon, the son of Cadvan, King of the Britons, died at Rome, on the twelfth day of May, and henceforth the Britons lost the crown of the kingdom and the Saxons gained it."* This is the first form of the legend, a form most likely arising out of a not very difficult mistake. Annals and inscriptions at Rome recorded how a King from Britain with a name not unlike that of Cadwalader had come to Rome and had died there.† Ceadwalla the King from Britain would be easily mistaken for Cadwalader the British King, and the pilgrimage and death of the Englishman would be transferred to the Briton. The year is shoved back seven years to the date of the real death of Cadwalader, but the day of the month is kept, with a most curious mistake. Ceadwalla died on the twentieth of April, that is, according to the Latin reckoning, on the twelfth day before the Kalends of May.‡ The Welsh writer, not under-

* I copy the English version of the Master of the Rolls' Brut (London, 1860), 681. It seems needless to copy the Welsh texts, of which I at least understand only a word here and there. On this matter of Cadwalader see Haddan, Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents, i. 202.

† Take for instance the metrical inscription quoted by Bæda (v. 7) and Paul Warnefrid (vi. 15), in which there is nothing about Angles or Saxons, but Ceadwalla is spoken of as "*sospes veniens supremo ex orbe Britanni*." The prose inscription in which Ceadwalla is called "*Rex Saxonum*," perhaps not without a reference to the relations of his house with Sussex and Essex—which is given in Bæda, is not given by Paul. Paul, we may add, speaks of Ceadwalla as "*Cedoaldus Rex Anglorum Saxonum*." Later on (vi. 28) he says "*His etiam diebus duo reges Saxonum, ad vestigia Apostolorum Romam venientes, sub velocitate ut optabant defuncti sunt*." This can hardly mean Ceadwalla and Ine; the two Kings are most likely Cenred of Mercia and Offa of Essex. See Bæda v. 19, Chronicles, 709.

‡ Bæda v. 7. "*In albis adhuc positus languore correptus, duodecimo Kalendarum Maiarum die solutus a carne, et beatorum est regno sociatus in cœlis*." From the prose inscription it would seem that he was buried the same day.

standing the backward fashion of the Roman almanack, mistook this for the twelfth of May, a mistake which Geoffrey of Monmouth set right.* What is meant by the crown of the kingdom being lost by the Britons and gained by the Saxons I do not profess to know. The time of Ceadwalla and Ine is a time of English victory, but there is no such marked conquest or overthrow of any Welsh kingdom just at this time as to account for so remarkable an expression as this.

When we turn from this version of the Brut to the fuller one published by the Cambrian Archæological Association† we see how legends grow. The acts of Ceadwalla had, in the first instance most likely by an honest confusion, become the acts of Cadwalader. The next stage was to trick them out with new and imaginary detail. In the first version Cadwalader simply takes the place of Ceadwalla ; now a great deal is told of Cadwalader which certainly never was told of Ceadwalla. The plague begins in 674 ; for fear of it Cadwalader and many of the best men of the Britons seek shelter with their kindred in Armorica. There they stay eleven years, till 685, when the plague ceases, and Cadwalader “places the isle of Britain and its crown under the protection of, and in pledge with, Alan, King of Armorica.” He then, by the

* Galf. Mon. Lib. ix. “Tunc Cadualladrus abjectis mundialibus propter Deum regnumque perpetuum venit Roman : et a Sergio papa confirmatus, inopino etiam languore correptus, duodecima autem die Kalendarum Maiarum, anno ab incarnatione dominica sexcentesimo octogesimo nono, a contagione carnis solutus cœlestis regni aulam ingressus est.” Here Geoffrey evidently follows Bæda, and takes the date of the death of Ceadwalla, while the Brut keeps to the real date of the death of Cadwalader.

† Brut y Tywysogion : The Gwentian Chronicle of Caradoc of Llan-carvan, with a translation by the late Aneurin Owen, Esq. London, 1863.

bidding of an angel, goes to Rome, stays five years, and dies. Geoffrey of Monmouth adds further details still.

Now in the *Annales Cambriæ* the entry of the death of Catgualart in his own island by the plague is all. We have not a word about going to Rome or going to Armorica. In two manuscripts indeed the Armorican story is stuck in;* no one, I think, who has any sort of habit of criticism will doubt that it simply is stuck in, and that the other text is the older and the genuine one. And again, we have, in the genuine text, no mention of Catgualart's successor. We have no entry at all that concerns us during the whole of Ine's reign, except some battles in 722 of which I shall speak presently. But in the older Brut we read under 683.

"And after Cadwalader, Ivor, son of Alan, King of Armoria, which is called Little Britain, reigned; not as a King, but as a chief or prince. And he exercised government over the British for forty-eight years, and then died. And after him Rhodri Molwynog reigned."

This does not greatly concern us; we have only to ask in what relation this somewhat shadowy Ivor from Brittany, who was no King, but only a chief or prince, stood to King Gerent of Cornwall, whose existence and whose kingship are as certain as those of Ine himself. But in the other Brut, under the same year 683, we find something quite different.

"Alan, King of Armoria, sent his son Ivor, and his nephew Ynyr, and two strong fleets, to the island of Britain; and war ensued between them and the Saxons, in which they partly succeeded. Then Ivor took upon him the sovereignty of the Britons. After that the Saxons came against him with

* "Pro quâ [mortalitate] Catwaladir filius Catwallaun in Minorem Britanniam aufugit." "Et Cadwallader rex Britanniam dereliquit et ad Armoricam regionem perrexit."

a powerful army ; and in a pitched battle Ivor and the Britons put them to flight after a bloody battle, and acquired Cornwall, the Summer Country, and Devonshire completely. And then Ivor erected the great monastery in Ynys Avallen, in thanking to God for his assistance against the Saxons."

The next entry in 698 contains an account of certain physical marvels which in the elder Brut are placed in the years 688 and 690, and then it tells us ;

"Ivor went to Rome, where he died, after maintaining the sovereignty of the Britons twenty-eight years with great praise and wisdom. He gave many lands to churches in Wales and England."

What is all this but simply to take the actions of Ine and attribute them to Ivor? Ine was a benefactor of Glastonbury ; Ine went to Rome and died ; so these actions are assigned to Ivor. Nay more, the victories of the English over the Welsh are turned about into victories of the Welsh over the English. The great victory of Ivor in 683, in which he acquired Cornwall, the Summer Country, and Devonshire, is simply the victory the other way, when, in 682 or 683, Centwine drove the Britons to the sea. Of this victory I shall speak presently ; as yet it is enough to say that, as Ivor takes the place of Ine and does his deeds, the fact that the imaginary Welsh victory of 683 is attributed to Ivor may lead us to believe that Ine had a hand in the real English victory of that time. All here will doubtless recognize the land spoken of by the Welsh writer as "the Summer Country," the land of the Sumorsætas, the "*æstiva regio*" of the Life of Gildas.* But I trust that there is no need for me to stop

* We read in the Vita Sancti Gildæ, 10 (p. xxxix. Stevenson) how Gildas "*reliquit insulam [the Steep Holm], ascendit naviculam, et ingressus est Glastoniam cum magno dolore, Meluas rege regnante in æstivâ regione.*"

to show the utterly mythical nature of a story which makes the Britons in 683 have any need to "acquire Cornwall and Devonshire." Instead of having to acquire them, they had never lost them; whatever we make of Ivor, King Gerent, the glorious lord of the western realm, was undoubtedly reigning over them.

Such is the growth of the story of Ivor. In the genuine Latin Annals he does not appear at all. In the earlier Welsh Brut, he appears as a prince from the Lesser Britain reigning in the Greater, an account which may possibly be true. In this version no actions are attributed to him, but this lack is filled up in the later Brut, where he does many of the real deeds of Ine. So myths grow and prosper. But later interpolators are sometimes less lucky. The interpolator of the *Annales Cambriæ* thought he was bound to stick in the great name of Ivor somewhere. But he did not stick it in at 683, but at 722, a year of which we have spoken already and shall speak again, and he makes Ivor the British leader in the battles of that year. And again in 734 he sticks in the words "Ivor filius Cadwallader." This is probably meant for the date of his death, which the reckoning of the earlier Brut would put in the year 731. But the entry should at any rate be noticed, as making Ivor the son, not of any Armorican Alan, but of Cadwalader himself.

Such are the fables, from which, as from most other fables, we may, by carefully turning them inside out, pick up a hint or two for the true history. To the meagre sources of that true history we will now turn. I take the history of the conquest of Somerset for granted as far as Dr. Guest has made it out. Ceawlin in 577 won the land between the Avon and the Axe at the battle of Deorham.

Bath, or its ruins, then became English ; so did the site of Bristol. But the Britons still held a long strip of land running up towards Malmesbury. This Cenwealh won by the battle of Bradford in 652. His later victory at the Pens in 658 advanced the West-Saxon frontier to the Parret, and made Glastonbury and the site of Wells English. Then, exactly as before, the progress of the West-Saxon arms stopped for a while. As no advance was made between the victory of Ceawlin in 577 and the victory of Cenwealh in 652, so no advance was made between the victory of Cenwealh in 658 and the victory of Centwine in 683. The interval is not so long, but it is equally well marked, and another equally marked interval comes between the victory of Centwine in 683 and the other recorded victory of Ine in 710. The truth seems to be that the several English powers were so constantly occupied in warfare with one another that warfare with the Welsh was carried on only now and then in intervals of special leisure. A great part of the interval, the first ten years at all events, between 683 and 710 is filled up with the Kentish warfare of Ceadwalla and Ine, and the victory of 710 comes immediately after the abdication of the Mercian King Cenred in 709, as if that were a safe moment for warfare at the other end of the kingdom. However this may be, these two entries contain the whole of our authentic knowledge as to the Welsh warfare of this time. The entry of 683 tells us only that Centwine drove the Britons to the sea.* That of 710 tells us that

* Chronicles, 682, 683. "On thissum geare Centwine gefliemde Bretwalas [al Bryttas] oth sæ." Henry of Huntingdon (M. H. B. 718 D.) gives no fresh detail. "Centwine rex vii. anno regni sui congressus est Britannos, eosque male resistentes victoriosus et vehemens cæde et incendiis usque ad mare fugavit."

Ine and Nunna fought with Gerent the Welsh King.* Henry of Huntingdon is, as usual, somewhat fuller. He describes the battle, as often happened, as at first favourable to the Welsh, who slew the Ealdorman Higbald; but in the end the English, he tells us, gained a complete victory.† I hope that this entry does not throw much suspicion on Henry of Huntingdon's accounts generally. I have always looked on the fuller details which we find in his history as coming from old ballads and traditions which he Latinized, just as he Latinized the song of Brunanburh. But this account of Higbald certainly reads as if it came, not from a ballad, but from a misunderstanding of the words of the Chronicles. Two of these record under this year the violent death of one Higbald or Sigbald, but they do not say who he was, how he was killed, or who killed him.‡ His death need not have been a West-Saxon event at all, and the words of the entry would certainly not lead us to think that he died in the battle against Gerent.

Here then are our only two direct accounts as to the warfare with the Welsh between the victory of Cenwealh at the Pens in 658 and the destruction of Taunton by Æthelburh in 722. Their result evidently was such an extension of the West-Saxon territory that, whereas in 658 it stopped at the Parret, in 722 it took in Taunton. But

* Chronicles, 710. "Ine and Nun [al. Nunna] his mæg gefuhton with Gerente Wala cyninge," or, as it stands in Canterbury and Abingdon, "with Gerente tham cinge."

† Hen. Hunt. M. H. B. 724 B. "Cujus pugnae principio occisus est dux Higeald; ad ultimum vero Gerente cum suis faciem ab Anglis avertit, et fugiens arma et spolia sequentibus reliquit."

‡ Chronn. Wig. Petrib. 710. "And tham ilcan geare man ofsloh Hygbald," or, as it stands in Worcester, "Sigbald."

there are expressions in the Chronicles which may perhaps help us a little further. In recording the victory of Centwine in 682 it is specially marked that the Welsh were driven to the sea, just as it was marked in 658 that they were driven to the Parret. I should infer from this that Centwine's victory gained for the West-Saxons the sea-coast west of the mouth of the Parret, the coast of Watchet, which afterwards figures in the Danish invasions. In short, Centwine's victory made the English masters of Quantock, as Ceawlin's victory, a hundred years before, had made them masters of Mendip. How far west towards Dunster, Minehead, Porlock, and Linton the frontier may have reached I do not profess to say. We might expect that the hills of Exmoor would be one of the districts in which the Britons would hold longest; but the English may very well have made settlements on the coast long before the mountain tribes were wholly subdued or driven out. In this campaign then I conceive that the West-Saxons won the sites of Bridgewater and Watchet; and we may, I think, venture to picture Centwine as forcing the gate, the *Lydiard*, so well known to this Society by other associations, and driving the Welsh up the valley where in after days Crowcombe was given for the repose of the soul of Godwine. In this victory of Centwine we may, I think, set down Ine as taking a part. In the Welsh legend this defeat is turned into a victory, a victory of Ivor, which suggests the presence of Ine. And another legend has led us to fix the government of his father the Under-King Cenred in the land of the Sumorsætas, that is, before 682, the land between Avon and Parret only. Nothing is more likely than that the victory should be won by the head King of all Wessex, supported by the son of the Under-King of the district

bordering on the seat of war. It is not unlikely that the valour of Ine shown at the foot of Quantock may have had much to do with placing him on the throne of Cerdic at Winchester.

The result of the victory of Ine himself as head King, the victory of Ine and Nunna over Gerent in 710, is less clearly marked, but a process of exhaustion would lead us to think that the land which was won by it was the south-western part of Somerset, Crewkerne, Ilminster, and that district. The Tone may not unlikely have been the frontier from 682 to 710. How far either conquest reached westward, whether either of them took in any part of Devonshire, we can only guess. In default of direct evidence either way, we may assume that the boundary of the shires, which must mark something, answers pretty well to the extent of the conquests of Centwine and Ine. We thus find the conquest of Somerset spread over a space of one hundred and thirty-three years, from the overthrow of the three Kings by Ceawlin at Deorham to the overthrow of Gerent by Ine and Nunna—I wish I could more distinctly say where. And mark further that the conquest was made at three different times, and that the land won at each of these times of conquest answers pretty well to one of our latest political divisions. The first conquest of Ceawlin south of the Avon answers nearly to that division of the county which, in obedience to the law, we speak of as East, though its position on the map would rather lead us to call it North. The conquests of Cenwealh made Mid-Somerset an English land. And the victories of Centwine and Ine extended the West-Saxon rule over the Western division, and made the whole land of the Sumorsætas English. Whether the memory of the ancient conquerors was present to the minds of those who last mapped out our

shire is one of those deep questions into which it does not become us to search; but that the earliest and the latest divisions of Somerset will be commonly found to answer to each other within a mile or two is a fact which allows of no doubt.

Ine then, in partnership with Centwine and Nunna, may be set down as the conqueror of West-Somerset. But he was more than the conqueror of the land; he was also the founder of the chief town of the land, of this Taunton where we are now met. It is only in exceptional cases that an English town can point with absolute certainty to a known man as its personal founder. Constantly as our towns and villages bear the names of particular men, it is comparatively rare that the names which they bear are those of perfectly ascertained persons within the historic age. The name is most commonly the name of a God, of a hero, or of a person who is probably real but of whom we know nothing, and, when the name is that of a known historical person, we have often to infer the foundation from the name without any further record. We cannot reasonably doubt that Roman Regnum changed its name to English Cissanceaster, in the honour, perhaps at the bidding, of Cissa the son of Ælle, but I do not know that there is any distinct record of the fact. Still less is it easy to trace out the foundations of towns which do not bear the name of their founder. Ine was not one of those who call the lands after their own names. He gave to his foundation, not his own name, but the name of the river on which he placed it. It is not in *Inesborough* that we are met, but in Taunton. Of the fact of the foundation of Taunton by Ine there is no doubt; we are left to guess at its exact date and object, but they are not very hard to find out. Taunton was founded by Ine at some time

before 722;* we can hardly doubt that it was founded as a new border-fortress for the defence of his conquests: its almost certain date therefore will be in or soon after the year 710, the year when those conquests were completed. Placed on the borders of the last conquest and of the last conquest but one, and at no great distance from the frontier of the still independent Britons, the position was an important one, and one which fully accounts for the part which Taunton played in the next war or rebellion of Ine's time.

Another point to be mentioned is the distinct, and almost respectful, way in which the Welsh King Gerent is spoken of in the English Chronicles. It is not often that a Welsh prince finds his way by name into our national history. Our Chroniclers at this time commonly thought it enough to record a fight with the Welsh, without preserving the name of any particular Welshman. No British prince has been mentioned by name since the three Kings who were overthrown by Ceawlin in 577. But the adversary of Ine and Nunna is spoken of in a marked way as "Gerent the King." His personality had clearly, from some cause or other, made a deeper impression on the minds of Englishmen than that of most of his countrymen. This is not wonderful when we find Saint Ealdhelm corresponding with him on ecclesiastical matters, exhorting him to the right keeping of Easter, and addressing him as "the glorious lord of the western realm."† The importance of Gerent has been clearly and strongly pointed out by Dr. Guest.‡ In fact a

* The entry in 722 is "Her Æthelburh cwen towærp Tantun thone Ine ær tymbrade."

† Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, 24. "Domino gloriosissimo occidentalis regni sceptrā gubernanti . . . Geruntio regi simulque cunctis Dei sacerdotibus per Domnoniam conversantibus Althelmus."

‡ *Archæological Journal*, xvi. (1859) 130.

potentate who reigned from the Lands End to the Parret reigned over what, in the then divided state of Britain, was no inconsiderable kingdom. Gerent must have stood in the first rank of the princes of the island, Welsh and English; he was probably quite the first among the princes of his own nation. He could not have held his own against Wessex, had Wessex always been able to bring its full force against him. But to Wessex disturbed and divided by open enemies in Mercia, by unwilling vassals in Kent and Sussex, and by discontented Æthelings at home, the King of Damnonia or West-Wales was no contemptible adversary. The strength of the Damnonia kingdom is witnessed by the slow steps by which Wessex advanced at its expense. Even after Ceawlin had cut off West-Wales from North-Wales, it took the English, as we have seen, 133 years to make their way from the Avon to Blackdown. The site of Taunton remained Welsh for four generations after the ruins of Bath, for two generations after the site of Wells, had become English possessions. And moreover, besides this great dominion south of the Bristol Channel, we find hints, to say the least, that the Damnonian King exercised some kind of supremacy over the smaller princes of Gwent, Morganwg, and Dyfed. Saint Ealdhelm, in the letter to which I have already referred, calls on Gerent to reform certain abuses in the church of Dyfed,* and we shall find other hints to the same effect as we go on.

In my view then Ine completed the conquest of Somerset, but he did not carry his arms further west, into the proper Damnonia, still less into the further parts of

* The offenders are described (Jaffé 28) as "*Ultra Sabrinae fluminis fretum Demetarum sacerdotes.*"

Cornwall. I have had only one source of difficulty or hesitation in coming to this conclusion. This is that, in the usual accounts, the West-Saxon Winfrith, more famous as Saint Boniface, Archbishop of Mainz and Apostle of Germany, is always said to have been born at Crediton in 680 and to have been brought up in a monastery at Exeter, under an Abbot Wulfhard. If we believe this, it follows that, not only all Somerset, but at least a great part of Devonshire must have been English long before the time when I conceive Ine to have been still fighting on the Tone and Parret. The state of things implied in the story would involve a conquest of Exeter by Cenwealh at the latest. It would need some very strong evidence indeed to make us believe an account so inconsistent with every inference to which all our other authorities lead us as to the course of English conquest in western Britain. We are asked to believe that Damnonia, which the contemporary Ealdhelm looked on as a fearful land, a visit to which was a wonderful exploit,* was already an English possession in which Englishmen were quietly born at Crediton and brought up at Exeter. We know that Exeter was still half Welsh in the days of Æthelstan;† it is hard

* In the poem of Saint Ealdhelm in Jaffé, *Monumenta Moguntina*, 38,

“Sicut pridem pepigeram,
Quando profectus fueram
Usque diram Domnoniam,
Per carentem Cornubiam
Florulentis cespitibus
Et fœcundis grammibus.”

† Will. Malms. *Gest. Reg.* ii. 134. “Illos [Cornewalenses] quoque impigre adorsus, ab Excestra, quam ad id temporis æquo cum Anglis jure inhabitabant, cedere compulit; terminum provinciæ suæ citra Tambram fluvium constituens, sicut Aquilonalibus Britannis amnem Waïam limitem posuerat. Urbem igitur illam, quam contaminatæ gentis repurgio defæcaverat, turribus munivit, muro ex quadratis lapidibus cinxit.

to believe that any part of it was English in the days of Centwine. What then is the evidence with regard to the birth and education of Winfrith, otherwise Boniface? I have not as yet been able to light on any evidence which fixes his birth at Crediton or in any particular part of Britain. I can find nothing about it in the *Lives and Letters* published by Pertz and Jaffé. But he certainly went to school at a place which, if there were no reason to the contrary, I believe we should all take to be Exeter. He was sent to a monastery at a place which his biographer Willibald calls *Adescanecastre*.* There seem to be several readings in the manuscripts, but all give that name or something not very far from it.† And *Adescanecastre* we should certainly take to be *Exanceaster* or Exeter. The *ad* is of course simply the *æt* or *at* which so constantly gets attached to names. It was long ago objected by Mabillon that no Abbots of Exeter are spoken of anywhere else.‡ This is no doubt something, but it hardly amounts to proof. There was a monastery of nuns at Exeter before the removal thither of the Damnonian Bishoprick,§ and the sex of monastic houses was so fluctuating in early times that it is quite possible that there may have been Abbots there at some time or other. The real question is whether we ought to look upon the reading of

* Willibald, Jaffé 433. Pertz. ii. 335. He is sent “ad monasterium, quod priscorum nuncupatur vocabulo Adescanecastre,” where he is received by the “fidelis vir Wolfhardus, qui et abbas illius exstitit monasterii.”

† Ad escan castre, Adestcanecastre, Adescanecastre, Adestanecastre.

‡ Jaffé quotes from Mabillon the interpretation of *Adescanecastre* as Exeter, adding “tametsi monasterium apud Exoniam tum fuisse nullum prodit monumentum.”

§ Will. Malms. Gest. Pont. 201. “Lefricus, ejectis sanctimonialibus a Sancti Petri monasterio, episcopatum et canonicos statuit.”

this single passage as so certain, or its authority as so decisive, as to upset all the conclusions to which we are led by every other line of argument. Our other few notices of Boniface's life in England connect him with districts like Hampshire and Wiltshire, which had long formed part of the West-Saxon kingdom.* Indeed our own shire may also claim some share in him. Among the holy men by whom Winfrith was brought to the notice of Ine was Beornwald, Abbot of Glastonbury.† This may encourage us to go a step further. A slight change in the letters of the name given as *Adescancastre*, a name, be it remembered, which must have been copied by scribes who were not likely to know much of English geography, would change it from Exeter into our own great Roman city. What if Winfrith, after all, got his first schooling within the bounds of the conquest of Ceawlin, in the old borough *Acemannesceaster*, which by another name men Bath call?‡

So far we have dealt with the Welsh wars of Centwine and Ine as they are directly recorded in our own

* "Nhutscele," said to be Nursling in Hampshire; (Willibald, Jaffé 435). "Dyssesburg," said to be Tisbury in Wiltshire. (Willibald, Jaffé 439).

† Along with Wynberch (Wineberht) of Nursling and Wintra of Tisbury, we find "Beorwald, qui divina coenobium gubernatione quod antiquorum nuncupatur vocabulo Glestingaburg regebat," appears among the holy men who "sanctum hunc virum accitum adduxerunt ad regem." All this, we must remember, is done "regnante Ine West-saxouum rege." The names of "Wintra Abbas" and Beorwald Abbas" appear among the signatures to the doubtful Charter of Ine dated in 704 (Cod. Dipl. i. 57) referred to by Jaffé, but in the Charter just before (i. 56) is Beorhtwald.

‡ Chronicles, 972.

"On thære ealdan byrig
Acemannes ceastre
Eac hie egbuend;
Othre worde
Beornas Bathan nemnath."

Chronicles. But, by the combined help of Welsh and English writers, I think I can discern a later Welsh war in which Ine was less lucky. I come back once more to the entry in 722 about Taunton. That entry says nothing about Welsh matters, but it tells everything in a disconnected, backward, way. We gather, bit by bit, that Ine had built a fortress, that the rebel Ealdbriht got hold of it, that Æthelburh destroyed the fortress and drove out the rebel. Now in the same year the one trustworthy British authority, the *Annales Cambriæ*, places three battles, one in Cornwall, the other two in the modern South Wales, in all of which the Britons had the victory. No name of the Welsh leader is given in the genuine text, but the interpolator has rather unluckily stuck in the name of Ivor, whom, it will be remembered, he does not mention where he appears in the other accounts.* But in the two Bruts, the latter of which, by the way, leaves out the Cornish battle, the Welsh leader is Rhodri Molwynawc who had just succeeded Ivor in the kingdom. I do not profess to know the site of the Cornish battle described as Hehil or Heilin;† but I conceive that we need not rigidly confine the name Cornwall‡ to the modern county. Any part of the kingdom of Gerent or Rhodri might be called Cornwall as opposed to Morganwg or Glamorgan, where one of the other battles was placed.

* Ann. Camb. 722. “Beli filius Elfin moritur, et bellum Hehil apud Cornuenses; gueith Gartmailauc, cat Pencon apud dextrales Brittones; et Brittones victores fuerunt in istis tribus bellis.” The interpolator reads “Bellum Pentun inter Britones et Saxones; sed Britones victores in hiis omnibus fuerunt, Ivor existente duce eorum.”

† The name is Heilin in the elder Brut. The name of Rhodri does not seem to be found in all the MSS.

‡ “Cornuenses” in the *Annales*, “Ygkernyb” in the elder Brut.

The English and Welsh entries, though they record quite different facts, seem to me to hang very well together. The West-Saxons lose a battle in a Damnonian war, and the fortress which had been lately built as a bulwark on the Damnonian frontier is occupied by an English rebel in a strife so serious that the fortress is destroyed in order to dislodge him. This looks very much as if the partisans of Ealdbriht had made common cause with the Welsh King who had just come to his crown, and who was naturally eager for some exploit against the old enemy. The forces of Ine then were defeated, and his fortress of Taunton was occupied by a combined body of British enemies and West-Saxon rebels. More serious losses were probably hindered by the vigorous action of the Queen, and her prominence in the war would also seem to imply that Ine was either disabled by age or sickness, or else that he was engaged elsewhere against some other division of the enemy. That the enemy, both foreign and domestic, were at last overcome is plain from Ine's being able to pursue Ealdbriht to his South-Saxon shelter. When Taunton was rebuilt I do not know. The place is mentioned in a charter of Æthelheard in 737* as having been granted by his Queen Frithgith to the Church of Winchester, but this charter is marked as spurious. The earliest charter in which Taunton is mentioned which Mr. Kemble accepts is one of Bishop Denewulf in 904, where Taunton appears as already possessed of a monastery, or at least a church of some kind.†

* Cod. Dipl. v. 45.

† Cod. Dipl. v. 155. Bishop Denewulf and the Church of Winchester had granted certain lands to King Eadward the Elder "pro perpetua libertate illius monasterii quae dicitur Tantun, in quo antea multa regaliū tributorum jura consistebant, quo et illud monasterium aequaliter ab omnibus regalibus et commitalibus tributis liberum et inuicem perpetualiter permaneat."

Another question starts itself. The war in Cornwall could only have been a war between Britons and West-Saxons. But the war in Cornwall and the war in Morganwg are spoken of as if they were parts of the same enterprise, carried on under the same leader. This is one of the passages which I have already spoken of as leading to the belief that the Kings of Damnonia exercised some kind of supremacy over the princes on the opposite coast of the Bristol Channel. Who then were their English adversaries in those parts? The Mercian frontier can hardly have come very near Morganwg so soon as this. It looks as if Ine was trying to extend his power over the Britons on both sides of the Channel, and as if, largely perhaps through the traitorous union of Ealdbriht with the Welsh, these schemes were shattered by a triple defeat in both regions.

All this is an example of the way in which secondary authorities should be used and should not be used. We should not accept the fables of the later Welsh Chronicles as true history, especially when we can trace back the way in which they grew out of the accounts of earlier and more trustworthy writers of their own nation. But even out of these later versions we may pick hints now and then, while we learn to look on the original Welsh Annals as a trustworthy, though a very meagre, document. We do not accept tales of British victories which are not to be found in the earliest British authority, and which are plainly tales of English victories turned backwards. But we may accept tales of British victories which are found in the earliest British authority, and which do not contradict our own Annals, but fill up gaps in them. The victories of the Welsh under their legendary Ivor are really their defeats at the hands of Centwine and Ine. But their victories under

Rhodri in 722 I accept as historical. They fill up a void in our own Chronicles; they explain a passage where our own annalists speak with stammering lips; they make us better understand a state of thing on which English writers would naturally have no great desire to dwell, and they set before us more clearly the combination of foes against which Wessex had to struggle when its newly raised bulwark was sacrificed by the unsparing vigour of Ine's Queen.

Thus, I think, we get very fairly at the true relations of Ine towards the Welsh. He was a conqueror who won from them a considerable district, which completed the formation of our own shire and was secured by the foundation of one of its chief towns as a border fortress. The later years of his reign were less successful. He suffered defeats at the hands of British enemies, and at most he maintained his new frontier instead of extending it further. But the general glory of his name was so great that he became a subject of romance; his exploits were laid hold of by the other side, and Ine was turned into a hero of the Bret-Welsh, much as Charles the Great has been turned into a hero of the Gal-Welsh. This, I think, is enough; but any one who chooses may explain the fancy of the Welsh for making Ine their own, by the theory that he was really so far their own that Ine and Mul were sons of a Welsh mother. He may also go on to believe that Mul bears the witness of his mixed origin in his name, that he was in fact, like Cyrus, the mule-King, the *ἡμίονος βασιλεύς* of the Delphic Oracle.* This I have no evidence either

* We have seen (see above p. 28) that he appears in a Kentish writer as "Mulus," though the more common Latin form of his name is "Mollo." I am sure that I have somewhere or other seen this inference as to his half British origin founded on the name Mul. In Brompton (X Scriptt. 742) he is changed into a more dangerous beast, and appears as Wolf. For the oracle, see Herodotus i. 55 and the explanation in c. 56.

to confirm or to confute. I do not know who Ine's mother was, and she may have been a Welshwoman. The attempt of the Britons to annex Ine is at least happier than the attempt of their continental kinsfolk to annex Charles. Ine may have been half a Welshman, because there certainly were Welshmen and Welshwomen in his time, and one of them may have been his parent. But the other Teutonic hero cannot have been even half a Frenchman, seeing that in his day Frenchmen, as a distinct type of the human family, did not exist.

I have thus gone through all that, as far as I know, can be made out about the parentage of Ine, about his wars, about his dealings with his British neighbours, about his relations to the town in which we are now met. I had purposed to go on further, and to deal with him in the two characters which have given him his greatest claim to lasting remembrance, as a lawgiver and as an ecclesiastical founder. But I find that the other aspect of him has supplied me with more than matter enough for consideration at a single meeting. I therefore keep back the examination of his laws and foundations for another year. Some day doubtless we shall again meet, as we did thirteen years ago, under the shadow of the sacred mount of Glastonbury. Some day, I trust, we shall, as we have already once done in the case of Bristol, overleap our strict geographical border, and come together on a spot which has so close a connexion with the history of our own shire as Sherborne and its minster. Both at Glastonbury and at Sherborne Ine is as much entitled to the honours of a founder as he is at Taunton. Only at Sherborne and Glastonbury his works were ecclesiastical, while at Taunton

they were military, perhaps municipal. In either place an examination of those aspects of his reign which I have now left untouched will be thoroughly in place. And I trust that some such opportunity will one day give me the excuse of again taking up the subject of the reign and acts of one who not only fills so high a place in the general annals of old English kingship, but who has a special claim to honour at our own hands. The name of Ine is perhaps the very earliest name which stands out as having a right to a place among the local worthies of Somerset.

POSTSCRIPT.

Since our Meeting at Taunton I have lighted on one or two things bearing on that part of Ine's life which I have dealt with in the foregoing paper. In page 14 I mentioned a mistaken statement of William of Malmesbury, according to which the father of Ine was, not Cenred but Cissa. Now, though there is no doubt that Cenred was the father of Ine, yet there seems some reason to think that there was an Under-King named Cissa in the generation before Ine. This is the Cissa who figures in the Abingdon History (ii. 268), who is claimed as one of the founders or early benefactors of that Abbey, and who is described as an Under-King reigning at Bedwin, over Wiltshire and part of Berkshire. He is placed in the time of Centwine; and his nephew Hean is described as the immediate founder, and first founder of Abingdon, the description of him runs thus:—

“*Regnante Kinuino rege West-Saxonum erat quidam nobilis vir Cyssa nomine, et hic erat regulus, in cujus dominio erat Wiltesire, et pars maxima de Berksire. Et quia habebat in dominio suo episcopalem sedem in Malmesbiria, regulus ap-*

pellabatur. Metropolis vero urbis regni ipsius erat Bedeuuinde. In australi etiam parte urbis illius construxit castellum, quod ex nomine suo Cyssebui vocabatur."

In p. 271 his death is thus recorded :—

"Illo tempore defunctus est avunculus Heane, gloriosus regulus Cysse, et super montem praedictum Abbendoniae sepultus; sed postea corpus ejus usque ad Sevekesham translatum est."

The writer then records the reign of Ceadwalla, and adds an entry which concerns us more nearly :—

"Glorioso regi Cedwallae successit Ine. Hic universas possessiones quas Cyssa et Cedwalla Abbendoniae contulerunt, abstulit et diripuit; sed postea poenitens eadem quæ abstulit, et multo plura, eidem ecclesiae reddidit et confirmavit. Nam ad construendam ecclesiam Abbendoniae et Glastoniæ tria millia librarum et dcc. et l. libras argenti contulit."

It would be undutiful to believe that Ine, whom we honour as a founder at Wells, Glastonbury, and Sherborne, was a spoiler at Abingdon. And we must always remember that we hardly ever have in these cases the means of hearing the story from the side of the King or other laymen. But there seems no reason to doubt the existence of the Under-King Cissa, as the story in no way contradicts any higher authority. But no one must be led astray by the wonderful comments of Mr. Stevenson in his Preface to the Abingdon History, either into making him head King of the West-Saxons, of which the Abingdon writer does not give the slightest hint, or into confounding him, as I fancy that some writers have done, with the more famous Cissa of Sussex.

There are a good many places in Wessex which seem to be called after some Cissa or other, as Cissetheborg (Cod. Dipl. ii. 5), Cissanham (iii. 229), Cissan Anstigo (vi. 41.) Cissanbeorg (v. 179), besides Kissantun in Ælfred's will (v. 130), which is there coupled with places in our own shire, but which does not appear in the English copy of the will in ii. 114. Some of these places may possibly be called from the Under-King Cissa, though there is always at least an equal chance of any name of the kind being really that of some legendary person.

An account of Ine at least as mythical as the Somerton story is to be found in the *Liber Custumarum* of the City of London, (vol. ii. pt. 2, page 638, of Mr. Riley's edition). For once he keeps his proper vowel. The passage comes in a strange addition to the so-called laws of Eadward the Confessor, which is put into the mouth of William the Conqueror himself. Amongst other things, there is an account of the privileges which, on the strength of ancient kindred, are to be given in England to the Jutes, (Guti) and to the continental Saxons, and these privileges, we are told, were granted by Ine, who was elected King over England, and who was the first to hold monarchy of English and Britons throughout the island. He was twice married, and his second wife was called Wala, after whom Cambria changed its name to Wallia. With her he received Cambria and Cornwall, and the blessed crown of Britain which had belonged to Cadwallader the last King of Britain. From his time Englishmen and Britons and Scots began to intermarry with one another, so that the two nations became one flesh. Also Ine practised every virtue in war and peace which became a King, and he was specially famous for being the first founder of what we suppose we may call the United Kingdom. I give the passage at length with some omissions:—

“*Ita constituit optimus Yne, Rex Anglorum, qui electus fuit in regem per Angliam, et qui primo obtinuit monarchiam totius regni hujus post adventum Anglorum in Britanniam. Fuit enim primus rex coronatus Anglorum et Britonum simul in Britannia, post adventum Saxonum Germaniæ in Britannia, scilicet post acceptam fidem a Beato Gregorio per Sanctum Augustinum. Cepit enim prædictus Ina uxorem suam demum, ‘Walam’ nomine; propter quam vocata est ‘Wallia,’ quæ quondam vocabatur ‘Cambria.’ Bigamus enim fuit.*

Cepit enim cum ista, ultima sua uxore, Cambriam et Cornubiam, et coronam benedictam Britanniae, quæ fuit ultimo Cadwalladrio, Regi Britanniae; et universi Angli, qui tunc temporis in Britanniam extiterunt, uxores suas ceperunt de Britonum genere, et Britones uxores suas de illustri sanguine et genere Anglorum, scilicet de genere Saxonum. Hoc enim factum fuit per commune consilium et assensum omnium Episcoporum et Principum, Procerum, Comitum, et omnium

sapientum, seniorum, et populorum totius regni, et per præceptum Regis prædicti.”

He then goes on to speak of the intermarriages of the different nations, and adds:—

“Et tali modo effecti fuerunt gens una et populus unus, per universum regnum Britanniae, miseratione divina. Deinde universi vocaverunt ‘Regnum Anglorum’ quod ante vocatum fuit ‘Regnum Britanniae.’”

He then goes on to say how the united nations withstood the invasions of Danes and Norwegians, and winds up with a panegyric on Ine:—

“Erat enim prædictus rex Ine optimus, largus, sapiens, et prudens et moderatus, strenuus, justus et animosus, bellicosus, pro loco et tempore; et in divinis legibus et sæcularibus institutis, scriptis et bonorum operum exhibitionibus irradiat. Gloriosus rexit, quia regnum et conföderavit et consolidavit, et in unum pacificavit, sapientia et prudentia magna, et, ubi locus adfuit, vi et manu armata.”

Strange as all this stuff is, it has its value, as showing the abiding belief that Ine stood in some special relation to the British portion of his subjects, as well as the memory of Ine’s general merits as a ruler. The imaginary British wife may possibly spring from some confused tradition of a real British mother.

I ought to mention that the passage in the Abingdon History was suggested to me by some unpublished remarks of Professor Stubbs, and the reference to the *Liber Custumarum* by Mr. Haddan’s reference, *Councils and Ecclesiastical Documents*, i. 202.

Taunton Castle:

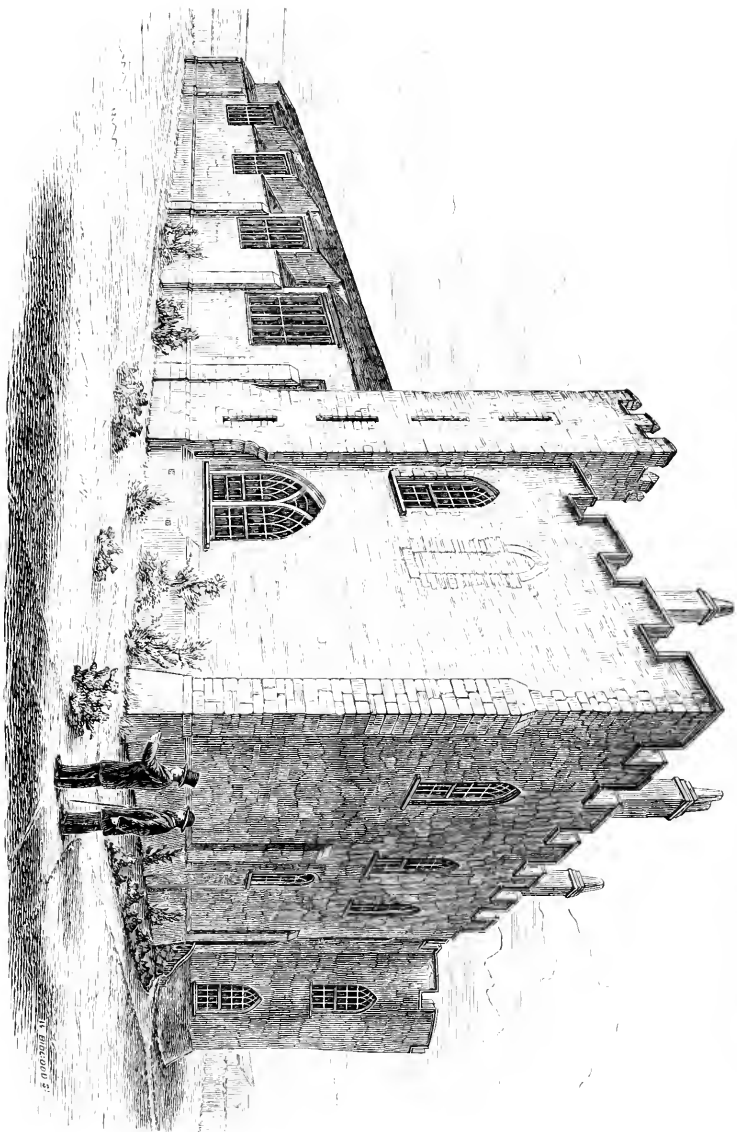
WITH SOME REMARKS UPON ANCIENT
MILITARY EARTHWORKS.

BY GEORGE T. CLARK.

TAUNTON Castle possesses an interest in the eyes of Archæologists which its present appearance and its unimportant Norman history may not seem to justify, but which depends upon the fact that it is of English and not Norman foundation, that it dates from a period nearly two centuries earlier than any other fortress mentioned in the Saxon Chronicle, and not only is the date of its construction approximatively known, but its existing earthworks, though mutilated, are beyond question original.

The earthworks of our country are among the most obscure of its archæological remains. Great attention has been and is being paid to them, but as yet with very partial results. The Transactions of this Society contain many valuable papers upon the earthworks of its district, and speculations, more or less unsatisfactory, upon their dates and authors; it will therefore not be out of place if,

TAUNTON CASTLE.—North-west View.





before treating of Taunton Castle, I attempt to shew the place which such remains hold in a general classification of the leading military earthworks of the country.

The British Isles are peculiarly rich in earthworks of various kinds, and concerning the origin of most of which history is silent, and the internal evidence afforded by which has not as yet been satisfactorily interpreted. This obscurity relates not so much to their intent and purpose, usually obvious enough, as to the period at which, and the tribes or persons by whom they were thrown up. The absolute date of many, probably of most of these, we cannot hope ever to discover, but it seems probable that their relative dates, and the tribes by whom and the circumstances under which they were thrown up, may be ascertained by a careful examination, not only of the details of each, but of the general arrangement of their groups, and by a comparison between each, and a consideration of what they were intended to protect. For this purpose the pits and traces of dwellings need to be examined, and both detailed plans and good general surveys to be made, such as we may expect from the new and larger Ordnance Survey now in progress.

Earthworks may be divided into sepulchral, civil, and military, and possibly those connected with religious observances. With those of the sepulchral class all are familiar. By civil are meant boundary dykes ; circles in which, as at Arthur's Table near Penrith, the earth from the circumscribing ditch is thrown outwards ; and such mounds as that at Hawick, the Tynwald in Man, and the hill at Scone, possibly of sepulchral origin, but from an early period used either for the promulgation of laws, or the display of a new chief to the people, or for some similar purposes.

Military earthworks, if not quite so common as those of the sepulchral class, are yet very common, and especially familiar to all who dwell in what has once been a border country. Their character is usually very evident. The defence is composed of one or more ditches, the earth from which is thrown inwards so as to form a bank. The entrance is by a causeway traversing both ditch and bank, usually obliquely, and often guarded by a small mount or cavalier, placed in front of the outer and sometimes also of the inner end of the passage, and intended to guard the entrance against a rush. These encampments, when large, are usually upon a hill top, or the crest of an escarpment. They are in plan irregular, governed by the outline of the ground. Those who constructed them were evidently savage tribes, having few or no wheel carriages or baggage, and no discipline : trusting mainly to the inaccessibility and passive strength of their works to guard against surprize. These seem also to have been intended to resist sudden attacks rather than a siege or blockade, since there is rarely a water spring in or very near the enclosure. Where the ground requires it some care is usually shewn in the formation of a trackway up the hillside, so as to make the ascent both moderately easy and to bring it under the command of those above. The inhabitants of such camps were evidently tribes of people, and the position of the works shews that they lived by hunting, and not to any great extent by cultivation of the soil. Such encampments are usually called British, because these conditions were fulfilled by the British tribes ; but whether they were thrown up by a still earlier race, or by the Celts against the Romans, or against other invaders, or against one another, or under all these circumstances, has not as yet been made clear.

Many certainly were intended for the refuge of small local tribes ; others, like those along the Cotteswold or the Mendips, had a wider scope, and were intended to protect a large tract of country, and are likely therefore to be of later date. Much skill of a certain sort is shewn in the selection of the sites of these frontier camps. The approach is of course well in the rear. Although labour was evidently plentiful, it was not wasted. Where the ground is steep the ditch is slight or omitted altogether ; where the slope is very gradual, as upon a long ridge like Worle, the defences are doubled or even tripled, and the outer line is usually some distance in advance, so as to allow the full force of the tribe to be mustered behind it.

Modern researches have discovered that some of these large camps were connected with the early lines of track-way, and occasionally with boundary dykes. Also traces have been found of the pits over which the wigwams were constructed, of the hearths, pottery, food, and weapons of the inhabitants. Also of shallow pools, lined with clay, in which they stored their water. Where the ditch was cut in rock, the banks were of course stony, and now and then such banks were actual stone walls, often very thick, sometimes containing store cells, but always, where original, of dry and rude masonry. In camps, such as I am now describing, no wall of original date, in which mortar has been employed, has been discovered. That dry walling may however be carried to a high pitch of skill by a rude people, is evident from the revetments flanking the entrance to such chambered tumuli as those of Stoney Littleton, drawn in your Transactions, and in Gower.

Such are the so-called British camps. The name is at least convenient since it designates a definite thing, but whether these camps date from the earliest settlement of

Britain, or from the struggles of the Celts against the Romans or the Saxons, needs further enquiry.

Another very important and large section of our military earthworks is altogether of a different character. These are rectangular in plan, usually with a single ditch and low banks of earth, and with entrances in the centre of the sides, and passing direct through the defences. Within the area of such camps are often indications of huts or dwelling-places, usually also rectangular in outline. These camps are evidently laid out by rule. They are seldom placed on the tops of detached hills, and usually near water and near also to one of the military lines of road. Their occupants were evidently disciplined soldiers, attended by baggage waggons, and who trusted more to their discipline than to the strength of the ground as a guard against surprise. Such camps are of course Roman. It sometimes happens that having become permanent, as at Silchester or Porchester, they have been enclosed with regular walls, and have even, as at Chester or Winchester, become important cities. In such cases the plan of the original camp is to be traced through all subsequent mutations. The four entrances remain, and the streets connecting them meet at a central cross. Many, if not most, of these Roman camp-cities retain a British element in their name, as Winchester and Gloucester, and were constructed on British sites, but either the British earthworks are gone, or being on low grounds as though the work of a people tillers of the soil, they were founded by the later Britons, after the system of irregular fortification on hill tops had been laid aside.

Usually, where these rectangular defences have been occupied as towns, their Roman original is recorded in history, confirmed by more or less abundant remains of

Roman art and manufacture, but it sometimes happens that within such earthworks have sprung up towns of the Roman origin of which there is no historic record, the names of which are either Saxon or afford no guide, which are not upon the great lines of road, and within which are few or no traces of Roman habitation. Such are Wareham, Wallingford, and Tamworth, all enclosed within rectangular earthworks, and each upon a river. It is however, only in their distinctly rectangular plan that these enclosures resemble Roman works. The ditches are deeper and the banks far higher than were usually employed by the Romans, who, when so great strength was required, were wont to build a wall, a less expensive and far more complete defence. Hence these fortifications have been attributed to the Romanized Britons, cast up within a few years after the departure of the Romans; and this notion seems probable enough. The conical mounds and concentric trenches found in the above-named enclosures, and in others such as Leicester, Cardiff, and Caerleon, where the traces of Roman occupation are more clearly written, are evidently additions at a considerably later period.

The earthworks hitherto described, whether British or Roman, seem intended for the residence of a tribe having all things in common, or of a body of soldiers on the march or in garrison; we next have to consider a class of works of a different description, some few of which are indeed of large area and on lofty positions, but which are usually of very moderate area, in low situations, with defences more or less inclined to the circular form, and which were evidently intended for the strong and permanent abode of some patriarchal chieftain, who there dwelt in the midst of his own lands and surrounded by his own family and immediate dependents.

The larger circular works, such as Badbury, the White Catterthun in Scotland, and a few others, evidently camps and not residences, are different from these. Some have thought them of Scandinavian as opposed to Celtic origin, a notion supported by the presence of many circular consecutive camps, often of small area, on or near the coasts, where also are found others, parts of circles, cutting off some headland or peninsula. These have been attributed to Scandinavian sea rovers, landing for a short time for plunder or provisions, as the larger and more inland circular works have been attributed to the same races, during their earlier attempts at a settlement in Britain, and before they had established the right of private property and the restraints of law, for which their immediate descendants became so remarkable.

The earthworks to which I wish more particularly to refer seem to have been formed after the right of private property in land was established. They are usually, not always, circular or oval, the area being enclosed within a ditch, the earth from which is thrown inwards, sometimes as a steep and narrow bank, sometimes so spread as to raise the inner area gradually towards the edge or scarp of the ditch.

Within the area, often in the centre, or where it is oval often near one end, and in some few cases upon or even outside the ditch, is usually a large conical mound from thirty so sixty feet high, and from sixty to one hundred feet diameter at the truncated summit. This mound, known in Normandy as a "Motte," is almost always wholly or in part artificial. It forms the keep or citadel of the enclosure, and upon it seems to have been placed the lord's house, of timber. Besides this, appended to the main enclosure are often found other enclosures more or

less nearly semicircular, divided from the main work by the ditch, but each having also a ditch of its own. They resemble in fact the ravelins or demilunes of later fortifications, only they were intended, not to cover the main work, but to afford shelter for cattle and retainers. Old Basing affords a good example of such appendages, as does Kilpeck, where however they seem the remains of an older camp. The mound usually has a ditch of its own, of course circular. Such earthworks are very common, and having been the seats of Saxon Thanes most of them have been taken possession of by their Norman successors, and have been made to carry a Norman castle. Windsor is a concentric camp of this kind with an artificial mound. The ditches, now filled up, have been probed and ascertained by Mr. Parker. At Dunster the mound or tor is natural, as at Montacute, but has been scarped. At Devizes, the finest work of the kind in England, the mound is of enormous size, and in great part artificial, and the ditch is of unusual depth and breadth. Marlborough is such a work, Ewias where the basis of the mound is natural, Binbury near Maidstone, Guildford, Tonbridge, Berkhamstead where the mound is outside the oval. Worcester mound stood within the works. It is now gone, as is that of Hereford which stood outside, with strong ditches of its own. Tonbridge, Arundel, and Tutbury, and perhaps Warwick are on the line of the enceinte, as was Southampton and as is Lincoln. In other cases the mound with its own ditches and works is placed, as has been mentioned, in or in connexion with a rectangular enclosure of different and no doubt of older date, as at Cardiff, Wareham, Leicester, Tamworth, and Wallingford.

Moreover, although the most perfect examples of this class of earthworks have their original mounds, this is not

always the case ; sometimes the work is a mere level platform, surrounded by a steep circular bank, outside which is a ditch with one entrance. Old Basing is such a work, as is the fine circle known as Mayburgh near Penrith, though there the ditch is wanting and the earthwork probably never contained a dwelling. These are circular but without a mound.

Others again, evidently to be referred to the same class, are irregular in plan, governed by the figure of a hillock of dry land, or by the course of the adjacent river, or the outline of a marsh. Taunton is a good example of such a work.

Now it is to be remarked that earthworks of the character I have been describing occur most frequently in England and Normandy. There are about sixty circular or oval earthworks, and with mounds, within a moderate distance of Caen, and there are two hundred or more in England. They occur also, though sparingly, in Wales. Most, as Chirbury, Radnor, Caerleon, Cardiff, Brecon, Builth, and those in the Welsh parts of Hereford and Shropshire being found in districts in which the Saxon early effected a lodgement, or as with regard to the two military mounds at Towyn, at no great distance from the sea.

What is the age of these half domestic, half military earthworks? Their founders do not seem to have been nomade. Those in Normandy were almost invariably the seats of Norman barons, as those in England were of Saxon thanes.

Moreover, the age and authorship of several of them is known. Some are mentioned as fortresses in Domesday. Such are Canterbury where there is a small, and Rochester with a very large mound ; Arundel, Bramber, Lewes

which has two mounds, Carisbrook, Wallingford, Windsor, Wareham, Montacute, Dunster, Launceston, Trematon, Gloucester, Worcester, Wigmore, Clifford, Ewias, Caerleon, Cambridge, Huntingdon, Warwick, Stafford, Shrewsbury, Montgomery, York, Lincoln, Stamford, Norwich: all have mounds, some large some small, some natural some artificial, but all come under the class of earthworks I am here describing, and all these works were most certainly of a date preceding the conquest.

Of several of these earthworks the date of construction is recorded in the Saxon Chronicle. Thus Taunton seems to have been constructed in 702, and it was destroyed, that is its timberwork burnt, in 722. The works outside Rochester city, including probably the mound, were thrown up in 885. Those at Wareham, probably the mound and its ditches, in 877. Bridgenorth in 896-912. Badbury camp was used in 901, Bramsbury in 910. Sarratt and Witham date from 912; Maldon, 912-20. Tamworth, Stafford, Eddisbury, Chirbury, Wardbury, Runcorn, in 913; Hertford, 914; Warwick, 915; Brecknock, where is a large mound, 916, probably also the date of the mound and concentric works at Bulth; Bedford, 919; Huntingdon, Tamsford, Towcester, Wigmore, part of Colchester, 921, and Stamford in 922. Some of these works remain intact; others are more or less perfect; others are removed, but descriptions of them are preserved.

I think therefore that on the whole the evidence is in favour of a Scandinavian and Saxon origin for these earthworks, and that they were all constructed between the 7th or 8th and 9th or 10th centuries.

While speaking of these domestic-military works, works intended not merely to last during the military occupation of a country, but to be transmitted to the heirs and successors

of the owner, mention should be made of those remarkable, but in Ireland very common, works known as Rathes, and which are found also in Pembrokeshire. These are circular platforms, sometimes raised, surrounded by a bank and ditch, and upon which was constructed, usually of timber, the house of the owner. Though smaller they closely resemble in their main features the larger circular works, and seems to have been intended for the protection of an ordinary dwelling, just as the others were for the stronghold of the Thane. A mile or so east of the Pontilas station in Herefordshire, and close north of the railway is a low mound or platform, circular, and with a ditch, which if it occurred in Ireland or in Pembrokeshire would be called a Rath. I am told that there is a similar work called locally a "Belch," near Worle village in Somersetshire, and that another, in the same neighbourhood, has been removed within memory.

Taunton Castle stands upon one of the many low hummocks of gravel, often with a base of red marl, which rise out of the extensive fen lands of this very singular district, and which, before agriculture had drained the marshes, were even more inaccessible, or in military phrase, stronger ground, than even the hill fortresses of the upper country. The Thone, the river whence the town derives its name, rises by many and copious tributaries over a wide sweep of country, north, west, and south, and traversing the low land, which though neither so wet nor so extensive as many of the adjacent levels, was yet broad enough and marshy enough to serve every purpose of defence.

Here, upon the right bank of the stream, Ine, the celebrated leader and lawgiver of the West-Saxons, is reputed to have established himself in the year 702, while engaged in securing his frontier against the western Britons, who,

under the leading of Geraint, still maintained a footing in the broken ground east of the Tamar, upon Exmoor and among the Brendon and Quantock Hills, holding probably the camps which still remain, but little altered by the lapse of a thousand or eleven hundred years.

This seems to be the origin of the town of Taunton, and here, upon the edge of one of the inosculating branches of the sluggish stream, Ine founded his castle by throwing up banks of earth girdled with deep and formidable ditches, and no doubt further strengthened by stockades of timber, or at best by walls the workmanship of which scarcely deserved the name of masonry. Such as it was it was destroyed, that is burned, by Queen Æthelburh in 722, who probably however left the earthworks, the better part of the defence, much as she found them.

The spot selected, resting upon the river, is covered by a loop, which has been converted into a mill stream, working a mill placed a little below the Castle. This river or north front is tolerably straight and about 180 yards long. The west front, about 168 yards, is formed by what seems to have been a tributary stream called the Potwater, which here joined the river nearly at a right angle. The south and east fronts, of 340 yards, were formed by a curved water course, probably artificial, which connected the tributary, by a second junction, with the river, and thus completed the circuit of the defence. The enclosure was thus a sort of quadrant, the river and the brook being each a radius, and the curved ditch the arc. The area thus enclosed measures about seven acres, and lies between the river and the town, which covers its east and south sides.

Within this area, occupying its north-east corner and about a quarter of its extent, is the inner court or citadel of the place, roughly rectangular, and measuring about

123 yards east and west, by 73 yards north and south. Its east and north faces rest upon the main ditch and the river, and its south and west faces are covered by a curved ditch, artificial, which gives the eastern outer ditch a second connexion with the river, and divides the outer called "Castle Green" from the inner court. The position was a very strong one, having the river, and beyond it a morass, towards the north, or threatened side, and to the south a ditch, in part double, and always filled with water.

The inner court is further subdivided into two parts, of which the eastern half seems to have been raised into a sort of platform upon which probably Ine's actual residence was placed.

Mr. Warre speaks of a mound here, but as I cannot make out that there is any record or tradition of a mound in the technical sense, I presume that he calls by that name the very considerable bank and contiguous platform of earth, much of which is still seen. What occurred heré, and by whom occupied, or what changes took place between the reign of Ine and the end of the 11th century is not known, but the Normans, accustomed, as far as practicable, to occupy the Saxon seats, soon perceived the advantages held out by the position and earthworks at Taunton, and William Gifford, who held the lordship as Bishop of Winchester in the reign of Henry I., seems to have decided upon building a regular Castle. His successors, Bishops of Winchester, were much here, and the Castle received much addition at their hands, especially in the early Decorated period, of all of which traces more or less considerable still remain. The outer ward is traversed east and west by a road upon which were two gatehouses, of which the western was till recently represented by a fragment of wall and a stone bridge across the moat.



TAUNTON CASTLE.

WEST VIEW OF THE EASTERN GATE, AS IT APPEARED ABOUT 1814

Reduced from a Drawing in the Society's Museum.

Traces of a barbican in part of timber, were discovered a few years ago while digging on the counterscarp. Of the eastern gatehouse the remains are still considerable. It was of large size, the entrance passage being 60 feet deep, with portals at each end, and at the outer end a large square portcullis groove. The upper floor contained a fine room, of which on the north side there remain two windows in the early Decorated style, which is that of the whole gatehouse. The gateway was placed just within the ditch, on the counterscarp or town side of which some foundations, probably of a barbican, were laid open a few years since. The wall of the outer court is gone, save a small fragment on the south-west quarter, neither are there any of the ancient buildings remaining within the area. Bishop Fox's school, the oldest of them, is later than the period when the defences were of much value.

The defences and contents of the inner ward are less imperfect. The masonry here did not extend actually to the river, the immediate bank of which, as at Leicester, is very low, so that the enclosed ward occupied only about two-thirds of the whole moated area. The walled part is roughly triangular, the base being the east side, and the truncated apex to the west. This area seems further to have been divided by a cross wall into two parts, the keep, hall, and gatehouse being in the western, and in the eastern the earthworks, which favours the notion of this having been the old English citadel. These earthworks are two banks along the east and south fronts, expanding at their junction into a rectangular platform of about 80 by 120 feet. The banks have been used as terraces or ramps, the Norman wall having been built against them and along the river edge of the ditch. These banks are about 18 to 24 feet broad and about 10 feet high.

Along the east face about 150 feet of the original wall remains tolerably perfect, and is about 25 feet high outside. This is returned along the river or north front, and near the angle is a buried arch at present invisible, and which may have been a postern or a sewer. From the south face the wall has recently been removed. At the south-west corner of this court is a dwelling-house, part of the wall of which is old, either Norman or Edwardian.

The smaller or west court contains the chief remains in masonry, and of these the most remarkable is the keep. This is a well-defined though mutilated tower, standing upon the enceinte wall, of which it forms the north-west angle. It is rectangular, 50 feet north and south, by 40 feet east and west, with walls about 13 feet thick. There is no chamber below ground. The basement is vaulted with a heavy barrel vault, apparently original, though this is doubtful, and round headed. Outside are flat narrow pilaster strips, dying into the wall at about 30 feet high. There are traces of Norman loops in the wall, which may have been 50 feet high, and probably included three stories. At the north-east angle is a well staircase leading to the battlements, probably in part an Edwardian addition. The entrance is most likely to have been in the south face, no doubt on the first floor, though there is nothing left to shew this.

From the keep, along the north front, the original, though much mutilated, Norman wall, with its flat pilasters and the jamb of one original window, crests the rising ground, as at Leicester, about 50 feet from the river, and, also as at Leicester, evidently formed one side of the hall. At the end of the wall, about 140 feet from the keep, is a postern, with a segmental arch, possibly in substance Norman, though mutilated.

In the centre of the south front, but at the south-east corner of this section of it, is the gatehouse, a rectangular structure, with an Edwardian portal, and some Perpendicular additions, square portcullis grooves, gates, and lodge. In the front are seen the holes for the chains supporting the drawbridge, now replaced by a permanent structure. Above the entrance passage is a chamber.

Right and left of the gatehouse the curtain extends about 70 feet, terminating a short time ago in bold drum towers, of which one is gone, and the other caps the south-west angle of the ward, and connected this front with a short curtain leading to the keep. Against this wall stands a line of buildings ranging with the gatehouse. Opposite, against the north wall, is the hall, modern as to its inner wall, fittings, and roof, but very evidently occupying the sight of the original Norman hall and domestic buildings.

The south-west drum tower has been rebuilt or faced, but evidently represents the Edwardian or early Decorated works that replaced the old Norman curtain. The ditch along the west and part of the south fronts of this ward, has been recently filled up. The drum towers, curtain, and keep stood on its edge, and formed its scarp.

Here, then, we have a combination of earthworks dating from the commencement of the 8th century ; walls and keep the work of the early part of the 12th ; and towers and gatehouses towards the end of the 13th or early in the 14th century. Bishop Langton executed some additions here in 1490, and placed his arms outside the inner gatehouse. In 1496 the Castle was taken by the Cornish rebels who rose against the close taxation of Henry VII., and here massacred the Provest of Penrhyn. Bishop Horne made further repairs here in 1557.

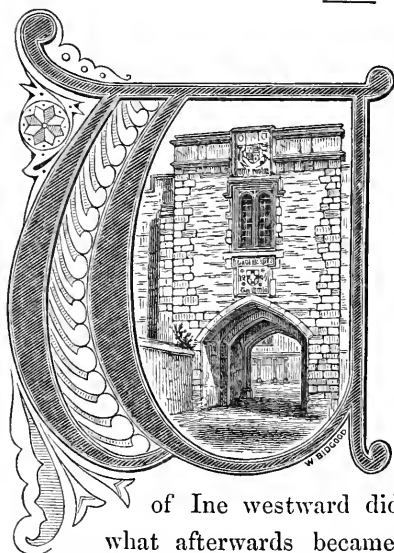
In the Parliamentary wars Taunton was first occupied for the Parliament, then taken by Lord Hertford for the King, and finally retaken for the Parliament by Blake, who held it against a far superior force. The infamous Jefferies held the "Bloody Assize" in the present hall.

It has been thought that Ine's Castle was confined to the inner ward. No doubt his strong house was there, but the whole enclosure is not larger than Framlingham or other Saxon holds.

The absence of a mound is rather peculiar, and it is remarkable that the Normans should have placed this keep on the lowest ground. Altogether, looking to its very curious though scanty remains, and its very ancient history, Taunton Castle is a work of unusual interest, and deserves to be cleared and employed as a promenade or museum, or for some public purpose, so that its walls and earthworks may become an embellishment to the ancient town to which it unquestionably gave rise.

The Customs of the Manor of Taunton Deane.

BY WM. ARTHUR JONES, M.A., F.G.S., ETC.



WE are enabled by what I think may be deemed reliable, if not authentic records, to carry back the history of this Manor to the earliest ages of the history of Wessex. Not long after the time when Taunton was still virtually a border-fortress, and the kingdom

of Ine westward did not extend far beyond what afterwards became the boundaries of the Manor of Taunton Deane, we find that this rich and fertile district was bestowed upon the Church of Winchester. From that time until a comparatively very recent period the Bishops of Winchester continued to be the lords of this Manor, and, in fact, they ceased to exercise their manorial rights and enjoy its privileges here only when the Ecclesiastical Commissioners Act came into force.

* * * The initial letter embraces a view of the Exchequer Chamber, Taunton Castle, where the documents relating to the Manor are kept.

It was Frethogyth, the Queen of Æthelheard, who first endowed the see of Winchester with lands in this district. Æthelheard was the immediate successor of Ine, and he was brother to Æthelburh the Queen. Thus it was quite possible that some of the tenants who first did homage to the princely prelate of Winton might have taken part in the siege of Taunton, under Queen Æthelburh, when the rebels had seized it in 722; or at least they might well have remembered seeing in their boyhood the flaming ruins of the castle which Æthelburh had set on fire, in order to dislodge the rebel chieftain and his followers.

It is hardly necessary to observe that I am now speaking of a time when the diocese of Exeter did not exist; when the diocese of Wells had not been formed; when, in fact, the see of Winchester was co-extensive with the West-Saxon Kingdom. I am aware that in 705 the province was divided, and the western portion made into the diocese of Sherborne. Nevertheless, there is reason to believe that the imperial city of Winchester continued to be the metropolis alike of civil and ecclesiastical rule; and no one would be more willing to acknowledge the supremacy than the Bishop of Sherborne himself. Accordingly when (as stated in the Saxon Chronicles) Forthere, Bishop of Sherborne, and Queen Frethogyth went together on a pilgrimage to Rome, nothing would be more natural for the Queen and nothing more agreeable to the bishop, than the endowment of the Mother Church in token of her gratitude and devotion.

And thus we find it stated in early Saxon charters that Queen Frethogyth bestowed the Manor of Taunton on the Church of Winchester. The genuineness and authenticity of some of those charters may be doubtful. I know that Kemble, in his *Codex Diplomaticus*, marks them as such.

Yet I see no reason whatever to doubt the principal fact on which they are based, namely, that the grant of the Manor was first made by the Queen of Æthelheard and the sister-in-law of Æthelburh.

So, when we come to the charter of Æthelwulf of Wessex, granted in A.D. 854, we are quite prepared to accept the statement there expressly made in these terms : —“ I have enlarged the boundaries of the land in Tantun which Frethogyth the queen gave to the Church of Winchester in former times” (*amplificavi spacium telluris in Tantun quod Frethogyth regina Wentanæ ecclesie priscis temporibus dedit.*)

This charter of Æthelwulf is especially interesting, inasmuch as that it specifies the additions made, consisting of lands in “ Risc tune ” and in “ Stoce aet orceard ; ” and also gives the various objects and places which mark out the boundaries of the Manor at the time the charter was made. The boundaries given are clear enough to enable us to take a general view of the extent of the Manor at that time. Many of the spots may be identified with those which bear much the same names in the Ordnance Maps of the present day, and I have no doubt that reference to parish maps and local usages would enable us to identify many more.

Guided by this charter our course in “ beating the bounds ” would be as follows :—

Starting from where Blackbrook enters the Tone in the parish of Ruishton (*Blackan-broce on Taan*), we come to Ash-cross (*ad veterem fraxinum*); thence over the hill to the borders of Ash-hill forest : (*trans montem in alterum fraxinum*); and on to the high road from Broadway to Honiton (*ad viam publicam*); thence over the Blackdown-hills to Otterford (*ad vadum quod Otterford nominatur*),

following the course of the stream to Otterhead (*usque ad caput fontis*). Crossing the hill we come into the Culm valley (*ad Columbarem vallem*), and then on westward until we arrive at Ashbrittle (*quemdam fraxinum quem imperiti sacrum vocant*), and following the course of the river, we come to the boundaries of Wiveliscombe (*juxta terminos Wifelescombe*); thence along the old road leading to Monk-silver, until we come to the source of the Willet stream (*ad originalem fontem rivuli qui Willite nominatur*); thence by *alba gronna*, now called White Moor Farm, we come to Lydeard St. Lawrence (*ad Lidgeard*). From here crossing the valley, we come to the foot of Triscombe (*ad occidentalem partem vallis qui Truscombe nominatur*); thence eastward to *Rugan Béorh*, which I suggest should be Bugar Bóorh or Bagborough, for immediately we are taken along the horse-path over Quantock to *Æscholtes*. Afterwards we pass *piscis fontem* (Bishpool Farm), and so on to Holwell Cavern (*sic ad Elwylle*). Crossing the Quantocks again, and descending into the valley of the Tone, we come by the stream which passes by Kingston (*ad rivulum qui Neglescumb nominatur*), and which gives name to the Hundred and Hamlet of Nailesburne. Going eastward we skirt *Hegsteldescumb*, which I take to be Hestercombe, and passing by *Sæchbrock*, which I take to be Sidbrook, we come again to the Tone where we started (*et sic in flumine quod Tan nominatur*), *et sic perveniatur iterum in Beadding-brock*, or Bathpool.

The boundaries which I have here briefly sketched include one of the richest tracts of country in the kingdom, and any one who knows the country cannot fail to be impressed with the immense value and importance of such a Manor. In fact, judging from the valuation-lists recently issued by the Union Assessment Committees, the Manor

originally embraced a district, the annual rental of which, in the present day, cannot fall far short of £200,000 ! This immense sum would not, of course, correctly represent, even comparatively, the value of the estate at the time to which we refer. Great allowance is to be made for the extent of forest. The *panagium porcorum* (that is, the mast for pig-meat in beech and oak groves) would not be of the same value as corn crops grown on the cleared ground. The extent of this forest is clearly shown by the very name which the district bears—Taunton *Deane*—a name older even than the kingdom of Wessex, and one always associated with forests. The Arduenna Silva of Cæsar, the Arden of Warwickshire, the Forest of Dean, in Gloucestershire, still called by the Cymri “y Ddena” all serve to confirm this view. But making all the allowances possible, this Manor was a princely inheritance, even after large portions of it had been granted by the Conqueror to some of his favourites, and other portions had come to be held on knights’ service, under the Bishop of Winchester as superior lord.

I am sorry I shall have to pass over all that relates to this Manor in the Exon Domesday, the examination of which would be extremely interesting and valuable, but somewhat dry.

I can also only refer briefly to a very curious and interesting MS. Customary of this Manor, which I had the good fortune to discover under a great heap of court-rolls in the Exchequer. It supplies examples of tenure under the Manor in olden times which are very curious, and which deserve to be treated of and discussed by themselves, but they are not incorporated in the Customs to which this paper is specially devoted. I will, therefore, only give two or three cases by way of illustration. Thus, lands in

Hillsbishop and Staplegrove are held on a small fixed rent, and the ordinary services of ploughing and sowing and reaping so many acres of the lord's land. In addition to this the tenants were required to carry the lord's corn to market at Ivelchester or Langport, and what is still more curious, they were bound to carry the lord's corn as far as Topsham, and there to place it in ships for exportation! *Cariabit bladum d'ni usque ad Toppisham si d'nus voluerit transietare et ponere ibidem warnesturam suam in naves.* Why the bishops preferred Topsham to Bridgwater is partially explained by another clause, in which it is provided that if the bishop should desire to have his wine conveyed from Exeter or Topsham to Taunton, the tenants were bound to bring back the same at the rate of 2s. per cask. *Et si dominus voluerit cariare vinum suum ab Exon vel Toppisham d'nus Episcopus dabit pro quolibet doleo cariendo ii.s.* By the same conditions of tenure the tenant was not allowed to give his daughter in marriage, nor to sell a horse, without leave from the bishop.

The entire Manor of which I have hitherto spoken appears to have been divided at an early period into two parts, known as the Out-faring Division, and the In-faring Division. It is to the latter of these only that the Customs of Taunton Deane apply. There is, besides, the Hundred of Taunton Borough, which stands by itself and will require to be treated by itself.

The In-faring Division, or The Five Hundreds of Taunton Deane, consists of (1) The Hundred of Holway, including portions of the parishes of Ruishton, Taunton St. Mary, Stoke, Wilton, Ninehead, and Rimpton; (2) The Hundred of Hull, including the parishes of Trull, Bishop's Hull, and a portion of Pitminster; (3) The Hundred of Naillesburne, embracing the parish of Kingston;

(4) The Hundred of Poundsford, including the parishes of Pitminster and Corfe, and (5) The Hundred of Staplegrove, including the parishes of Staplegrove, Taunton St. James, Combe Florey, and Lydeard [St. Lawrence. In the observations which are to follow on the Customs, it will be understood that by the Manor is understood The Five Hundreds of the Manor of Taunton Deane.

TAUNTON DEANE TENURE.

All owners of property being parcels of the Manor of Taunton Deane, are tenants of the Lord of the Manor, and hold their respective estates subject to certain dues, rents, and services fixed and determined by the customs of the Manor. These holdings are of two kinds, viz., *Bond-land Tenements*, being land on which ancient dwellings are known to have stood, and *Overland Tenements*, where such dwellings were not known. Fealty, suit, service, fines on surrender and admittance, and fixed rents were incident to both kinds of holdings; but, as might be expected from the necessary character of feudal tenures, the estates on which ancient dwellings had stood (that is, Bond-land Tenements) were subject to the obligation of residence on the property while the tenant was living, and to the payment of heriot when he died.

On every change of tenancy, whether by sale or deed of gift, or mortgage, the Customs require that the property shall be formally surrendered into the hands of the lord for the uses and purposes specified in the surrender; and in case of the death of a tenant intestate the property falls into the hands of the Lord of the Manor, for the uses of those who, as heirs, are entitled to inherit by the Customs. Entries of these surrenders, and also of admittances of tenants are made in the records of the Manor by the steward; and these entries are virtually the title-deeds of

the property. It is, however, to be observed, that while no change in the tenancy can take place without the authority and consent of the Lord of the Manor, yet, as long as certain conditions are fulfilled the tenants are virtually independent, and the lord has no power of restraining or limiting any disposition they may please to make of their property.

These Records of Surrenders and Admittances are kept in a room called the Exchequer. This room lies over the principal gateway to the Inner Bailey of the Castle, and belongs not to the Lord of the Manor, but to the tenants. When the late Lord of the Manor sold the Castle he could not sell and had no power to convey the room which stands over the principal entrance into it; and as far as I am able to judge from the Customs of the Manor, I do not see how he could have sold this hall* without reserving to the tenants the right they had in olden time to hold their Law-courts within its walls.

The earliest Records of Surrenders and Admittances in the Exchequer begin with the reign of Edward VI., and from that period to the present day the series appears to be almost perfect and complete. The Pipe-rolls, containing all the receipts and expenses arising from this Manor, are of a much earlier date; and as they specify the amount of fines paid, and also describe the persons and estates on account of whom the payments were made, they carry back the history of the Manor to a much earlier date.

During my investigations in these interesting records I could not fail to observe that the power of the superior lord became less and less every succeeding age, and that there was a corresponding increase in the privileges and freedom

* *I.e.*, the room in which the paper was read, formerly the old Hall of Taunton Castle.

which the tenants claimed and secured. Many feudal customs, inconsistent with the growing liberties of the people, had been allowed to fall into disuse long before they were abolished by the Commonwealth, and subsequently repealed by Charles II. When questions arising from high views of feudal rights were raised in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, and submitted to the Grand Inquest of the Manor, I find almost invariably that the judgments given were in favour of the tenant rather than of the lord.

I cannot find any evidence of the existence of any authentic code of laws or customs earlier than that which was drawn by a jury empanelled by order of Parliament in 1647, a very early, if not a contemporary copy of which in MS. I have now the pleasure to exhibit. In my present notice of the Customs, however, I purpose to confine my observations to such only as I have found entered and illustrated in the records themselves; and I take this early opportunity of expressing my great obligation to Mr. Meyler, the deputy-steward of the Manor, and a zealous and valuable member of our society, for the facilities he has kindly afforded me in my investigations in the Exchequer. I feel it is utterly impossible to lay before you anything like a complete account of all that is peculiar in the Customs of this Manor within the limit of time properly assigned on these occasions. I will content myself, therefore, with pointing out as briefly and clearly as I am able, some of the more interesting features :—

ALIENATION.

The powers which the tenants exercised in the disposal of their customary lands were very extensive and very varied. 1.—They had power of sale, by *absolute surrender*. 2.—By what was termed a *dayne-surrender*, a tenant of the Manor was able in his lifetime to dispose of his customary

lands to any of his family or others, on condition that a fixed annuity was paid to him during his life, or some specific provision made for his sustenance and support. In surrenders of this character clauses were inserted which gave the surrenderer power to resume possession of the estate in case conditions specified were not fulfilled. 3.—The tenants had power to make *conditional surrenders*. These forms were universally employed in the place of, and for the same purpose as, marriage-settlements. They were also used, and still are used, for *mortgages*. Whenever any tenant of Taunton Deane borrows money on the security of his customary land, he surrenders that land to the mortgagee, on condition that when the debt is discharged the surrender becomes void. Thus all mortgages of Taunton Deane lands are on record, and a public and authentic registration of mortgages is secured. 4.—Lastly, the tenant had power to make a *dormant surrender*—that is, a surrender to certain trustees for the purposes of his will. This surrender remained valid for seven years, and became void if not renewed after that time. Before the passing of the Act (55th Geo. III.), by which the necessity of such provisions was repealed, no disposition of Taunton Deane lands by will was valid without this dormant surrender. I know of a case in which an old lady left all her customary-hold land in this Manor to be equally divided between her nephews and neice. She had made the dormant surrender in due form, but it was found to have expired a few weeks before her death. When the provisions of her will came to be carried out it was found that as to her customary property she had virtually died intestate, and her land descended to her youngest nephew according to the Customs of the Manor. I have made copies, by way of illustration, of all these several surrenders, which are

extremely interesting and instructive. I need not trouble the audience with them at present, but I shall be happy to show them to any of the members who may be specially interested in such studies.

Further, it is to be observed that these surrenders are not valid unless they are made in the presence of the steward or his deputy, and witnessed by tenants of the Manor. The place and time are not material. Not long ago, as a tenant of this Manor, I was called upon in London to witness a surrender, and thereby I was able to save the surrenderer a long and expensive journey to Taunton. Now that the three weekly courts are not held, in order to facilitate surrenders, I hear it is not unusual to admit a certain number of attorneys practising in Taunton as tenants of the lord's waste—a tenancy purely nominal, but which constitutes them valid witnesses of surrenders made in their presence.

MAJORITY.

Here an important and interesting question presents itself. At what age did tenants of this Manor attain their majority? When did they become legally capable of exercising the powers of surrender and disposal? We know that elsewhere customs vary in regard to this. In some boroughs infants were held to have attained their majority when they became able to measure a yard of cloth. In Kent the tenant in gavelkind attains his majority at 15. But in this regard our neighbours in the town of Bridport carry off the palm. On an *inquisitio post-mortem* held 53^o Henry III. (1268), the jury made a presentment, "That the heir of a certain John Gervase was of full age (according to the use and customs of Bridport) on the day of his birth."* We do not find that the tenants of the

* Esch. Roll., 53, Henry III.

Manor of Taunton Deane ever regarded themselves equal in this respect to their neighbours in the borough of Bridport. I find, however, that in the 7th James I., a certain George Reve, of the tything of Staplegrove, was considered capable to make a surrender at the age of 15, he being then *in extremis*.

The most curious illustration of the Customs, as bearing upon the question of the age at which a tenant attains to majority, occurs in the records in the 10th year of Queen Elizabeth. It is a surrender taken before Hugh Norris, clerk of the Castle of Taunton, on the 23rd of June, 10 Eliz. (A.D. 1568) in the presence of John Frauncis, Esq., of Combe Florey, and others. I cannot do better than give you the exact terms in which the entry is made. Happily for many of my hearers the bulk of this is not as usual in Latin, but in good old English, corresponding (in character) to the sturdy character of the young lady by whom the surrender is made.

“Elizabeth Colles filia Johannis Colles *alias* Joye sursumreddidit in manus dominæ reginæ j mes et j dimid virgat ter' nat, &c., voc' Met-hay, et 3 acr. tr. voc. Whitmore, &c., &c., in decenna de Burland, ad opus et usum Anthonii Gonstone, heredum, &c., &c., habenda sub condicionibus sequentibus, viz. :—

The condicion of this surrender is such that yf the sayd Anthony Gonstone do take to wyfe and marrye according to the solempnisation of holly churche the abovenamed Elizabeth Colles between the time of xij yeres and xiiij yeres of hir age that then this surrender to be voyd and of none effect, or otherwise to stand and be in his full power and strengthe, provyded always that yf the said Elizabeth Colles do dye before marryage had with the said Anthony Gonstone, or otherwise refuse to marrye wyth hym at the

tyme apoynted ; that then the said Anthony and his assignes to have and enjoy all and singular the premises abovenamed during his natural lyfe onlye, and after his decease the same premises to remayne to the said Elizabeth, her heyres and assigns for ever according to the customs. Furthermore, and yff the said Anthonye do marrye with the said Elizabeth according to the intente of this surrender, ymydyatelye upon which marryage the premises do wholly fall into th'ands of the said Anthony by custom of this Manor ; then the said A. G. shall forthwithe surrender the said premises into the hands of the clark of the castle upon condycion that yf he should dye before the said Elizabeth do attayne the age of xv. yeres, that then the premises shall remayne to the said E, her heyres and assignes according to the customs without any alienacion or surrender of the premises to any person or persons, &c.

Capt' per me Hugone Norris clerico castri de Taunton et Taunton Deane, xxij die Junii Ao Regni d'ne nr' Elizabethæ x. In presencia Johannis Frauncis ar. Thomas Coke, &c., ten' d'ne Reginæ ib'em, et ulterius in presencia Johannis Kinglake, Johannis Gonstone et Thomas Hollwaye."

You will observe that at the time this surrender was made, Elizabeth Colles, *alias* Joye, was evidently between twelve and thirteen years of age, otherwise there would have been no need of a condition to the intent that the surrender would become void in case Anthony Gunstone married her within that period. Hence it follows that in the early part of the reign of Queen Elizabeth the tenants of this Manor attained their majority at the age of twelve years, and were then legally competent to dispose of their customary estates. In the second place, by the guarantees incorporated in the surrender, this young lady forestalled

the possibility of any action for a breach of promise of marriage, forasmuch as she provided distinctly that “yf she refuse to marrye with the said Anthonye at the tyme appointed,” then she forfeited her estates to the said Anthony “during his natural life.” Further, it will be observed that, knowing her husband might (according to the Customs of the Manor) claim to be admitted by the courtesy of Taunton Deane as a tenant for her estates immediately after their marriage, this prudent young lady, in her own interest and for her own protection, imposes a condition on her future husband to this effect : that immediately on his succession he shall surrender the said premises to the clerk of the castle, so that if the said Anthonye Gunstone should die after their marriage and before she attained the age of 15 years, “the premises should remayne to her and her heirs.” This surrender was made on the 23rd June, 1568. In the year after the following entry was made in the parish register of Combe Florey :—

“Anthonie Gounstoune and Elizabeth his wiffe were maryed on the xvij. day of July, 1569.”

From this it would appear that the favoured suitor was not kept waiting very long after the time specified in the agreement.

THE COURTESY OF TAUNTON DEANE.

From an observation made in my remarks on this surrender it will be seen that the rights conferred by the Courtesy of Taunton Deane are far more extensive than those conferred by what is termed the Courtesy of England ; for while by the latter the husband is entitled to a life-interest in his wife's estate of inheritance only after the birth of issue from the marriage capable of inheriting ; by the Customs of Taunton Deane, on the other hand the husband may at once claim to be admitted as tenant for his

wife's estates, and on producing legal evidence of marriage, is so admitted, and the property becomes vested in him.

DOWER.

While the Customs of the Manor in this particular certainly do seem to confer on the husband great power and control over his wife's customary-hold estate, it is but right to observe that, by way of compensation, the provisions made for the wife's dower are far more liberal than those which the law of England allows.

Elsewhere, if a husband dies intestate, the wife succeeds only to a third part of his property; but in Taunton Deane, under these circumstances, the wife is endowed of *all* her husband's customary tenements.

The wife, as "next heir unto her husband," succeeds to all her husband held under the Manor, and "holds the same unto her and her heirs." If, after being duly admitted as tenant, the widow should subsequently re-marry, and neglect to protect herself, as the young tenant of Combe Florey did, then her second husband might claim the lands which descended to her through her first husband, notwithstanding that children by the first marriage were living. And in case his wife should die before him, the heirs of the second husband, and not those of the first, would inherit. I am not now stating an hypothetical case, but one that has actually occurred in Taunton Deane within a very few years past.

DESCENT OF PROPERTY.

Another very peculiar feature in the Customs of Taunton Deane presents itself in the laws which regulate the descent of property in the Manor. The resemblance which exists between these and the Customs of Kent, and also those known as Borough English, taken together with the fact that this important Manor had its origin long

before the Norman Conquest, leads to the conclusion, I conceive, that these peculiar customs are of Saxon origin. Amidst all the changes that have taken place in England during the last thousand years, it is curious to note that the Manor of Taunton Deane has thus retained up to the present day the same rules as to succession which prevailed here before Alfred was king. We have now to treat not of the dead past, but of the living present, seeing that these regulations are still in force in this Manor.

If a tenant of this Manor dies intestate, his wife inherits as next heir to all that her husband held under the Manor. She is admitted as tenant in his place, and the succession is to her heirs, and not to the heirs of her husband.

If a tenant dies having no wife at the time of his death, and having but one son, that son inherits. If he has more than one son, then the youngest son inherits. In like manner, if one daughter, she would inherit; but if there are more than one, then the youngest daughter becomes the heir.

If a tenant dies, leaving no wife nor children, then the succession would descend to the youngest brother of the whole blood, or, in default, to the youngest sister. So, in like manner, the youngest nephew, or the youngest niece, in the absence of nephews, would inherit in preference to her eldest sisters. In short, according to the Customs of this Manor "the youngest next of kin of the whole and worthiest blood" inherits.

I do not profess to give the grounds and reasons upon which this custom was based. Some think it arose from excessive power and control which the feudal lord had over his vassals. I am myself inclined to look upon it as an outgrowth of the simple habits of early times. When the elder sons and daughters came of age they left home,

settled in life, and no longer needed any provision from their father. The youngest would be left at home, and the homestead would descend to him as a provision for his support. Be that as it may, such are the customs which prevail in this Manor, and which have all the force of an imperial enactment; and I need not point out how different they are from the laws of primogeniture, which are of a much more modern origin.

ESCHEAT.

I now came to another incident of customary holding in Taunton Deane—Escheat. In this particular the powers of the feudal lord here would seem to have been far greater than in other Manors; for while elsewhere, in olden time, cowardice in the field of battle, and in later times, treason and murder and felony, determined the feudal connection between the tenant and his lord, and his land was forfeited, here, in Taunton Deane, the connexion was severed and the land was escheated even if one tenant prosecuted another tenant in any court of law other than that of this Manor without license. Thus I find in the Records* that certain lands in the Tithing of Holway belonging to Thomas More de Priory came into the hands of the lord as his escheat (“*tamquam escaetam suam*”), because that the said Thomas More had entered proceedings in the King’s Bench, Westminster, against William Horsey and John Gael, tenants of this Manor, and had caused them to be placed under arrest without license obtained from the Lord of this Manor. I am half tempted to believe that this excessive severity may have been partly due to the ill-feeling which sprang up in Mary’s reign against men like More, who had become the owners of the

* 5 and 6 Philip and Mary.

property of religious houses. Nevertheless, I find the same course repeated in the 3rd of Elizabeth, when the lands of Will. Wylles, of Poundsford, were escheated for the same cause, the offence being aggravated in his case by a rebellious spirit which he had manifested.

After the 3rd of Elizabeth, however, I do not find in the record any entries of this character, the breach of this custom being uniformly punished by a money fine, which was always rigidly enforced. Hence the frequent entries of "*licencia prosequendi*," which occur in the Records. So stringent was this rule that one tenant should not prosecute another tenant in any other courts of law than those of the Manor without license, that in the 12th of Elizabeth, Henry Portman, while serving the office of High Sheriff, sued for and obtained a special license for all such prosecutions in the Manor as he might be called upon to authorise in his official capacity. Most of the prosecutions were instituted for debt, some for libel—*pro verbis scandalosis*—and some for tithes in the Ecclesiastical Courts. Throughout the reign of Elizabeth there is obviously a growing disinclination to appeal to the local tribunal, and from this time we find the law courts of the Manor occupied with cases of small debts and petty assaults. The range of their administration was very wide and varied, arising out of the presentments of zealous tithing-men. Now it is Dame Hewlet's pigs that unguarded roam in Marlin Churchyard; now it is some brewer who will charge more than fourpence a gallon for the beer he brews; then it is Eliz. Godson, who leaves a dung-heap on the highway, or Will. Dicke, clericus of Stoke qui insultum fecit super Rob. Carvannell cum pugno suo.

These presentments are almost invariably expressed in

Latin, and sound extremely ludicrous ; thus, *Ruishon, Decennarius presentat quod Will. Webber insultum fecit super M. Chaplin cum pruno baculo et extraxit sanguinem : ideo in miserecordia. ixd.*

The powers and jurisdiction of the tenants of the Manor legally assembled evidently included all the powers now exercised by the Board of Health, the Board of Guardians, and the Highway Board, and, still further, those of the Commissioners in Lunacy ! They also exercised a severe moral supervision over the district, as will be seen from an order made in the 17th of Elizabeth, “that John Henly, of Hull’s Bishop, should turn out certain subtenants of ill fame before the Feast of the Annunciation, or pay a fine of 40 shillings !” One very extraordinary instance occurs of the control which the court had over the estate of a tenant, presents itself on the Records, in the 29th of Elizabeth. It is expressed in the terms following : “Whereas Will. Glasse maketh havoc and waste of his tenement and doth wastefully spend the profit thereof so that his poore wyfe and her childe live in great want—it is ordered that the same tenement be seized by the bailif of the libertie, and a moietie of the yearly rent be employed for the maintenance of the said wyfe and childe.” But this is not all, for the order proceeds—“And yf he resist the execution of this decree then he shall be taken and imprisoned in the ordinarie prison of the Castell of Taunton until he will agree unto the performance hereof !”

I leave this decree to speak for itself, and I make no comment other than this—that while this order undoubtedly approves itself to our moral sense, it is one which it would be extremely difficult to carry into effect legally in the present day.

There was one duty which the tythingman discharged

with evident delight, namely, that of making presentments of such bond-land tenants as were non-resident and neglected suit of Court. In this matter there was no respect of persons, as will be seen from the following entry:—"South-fulford : Decennarius ibidem presentat quod Johannes Popham miles, Capitalis Justiciarius dne Reginæ de Banco, liber tenens sectam debet curiæ, et fecit defaultum." It was, verily, a striking instance of imperium in imperio when the law-court of this Manor imposed a fine upon the Chief Justice of England for non-attendance and for failure in suit and service !

This obligation of "Suit of Court" made a very serious demand upon the time of the tenant in former days, for besides the "three-weeken Courts," they were obliged to attend on the two chief law-days, the one called Turnus de Hoche held in the spring, and the other the Turnus de St. Martin, which was held in September. Hoche-tide we know commenced on the third Monday after Easter-day, and the time of holding the Court seems to range from the beginning of March to the end of April. I can find nothing in the calendar to account for the Tourne of St. Martin in September.

From a very early period down to the beginning of the reign of James I. entries frequently occur in the Records of licenses, obtained and paid for, to reside elsewhere than on the bond-land tenement, to be exempt from the three-weeken Courts, and sometimes to be relieved entirely of suit of Court. These and a great many other peculiar customs I am reluctantly obliged to pass over rather than weary you in the recital. They deserve, however, to be on record in our Proceedings, as land-marks which help to show what our institutions have been, and how they have changed for the better.

HERIOT.

There remains, however, one incident of bond-land tenure in this Manor which must not be passed over, inasmuch it continues in as full force in the present day as when the vassal was bound to take the field, armed and well mounted, in the service of his feudal lord. I refer to the *Heriot* payable on the death of a bond-land tenant. I cannot but think that this is a relic of old military tenure, as the word itself seems to show. The *Heregeat* would be "that with which the warrior went forth," that is, his war-horse and his armour. These would naturally be looked upon as the property of the feudal lord, and would be accounted for by the successor of a deceased tenant. When military tenures were abolished, the custom of heriot was retained in Taunton Deane, and the lord claimed the best chattel, "quick or dead," on the tenement. It is so still; and if a tenant die possessed of two or more bond-land tenements, then a heriot is demanded for each separate holding, whatever may be its extent or value. Not long since the owner of two small plots of bond-land died in the neighbourhood of Taunton, and his two best carriage horses were seized and taken as heriot on behalf of the lord of the Manor.

ENFRANCHISEMENT.

Under these circumstances one is not surprised to find that the tenants from time to time have sought by purchase to relieve themselves from these burdensome obligations. And as this freedom was obtained by the payment of heavy fines it is not surprising that the lords of this Manor, who possessed only a life-interest in the estate, were always ready and willing to enrich themselves in this way, even to the loss and impoverishing of their successors. Many of the Bishops of Winchester would seem

to have made a very good thing of this power of enfranchisement, good for themselves but not for the see. When the Manor was sold by the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, it realized very little more than used at one time to be its annual income; the process goes on from year to year, so that the market value of the Manor is continually diminishing. In fact, the princely domain of the old lords of this Manor is melting away so fast that it is now but a mere airy shadow of what it used to be, and is rapidly sinking into the condition of an archæological relic, existing only on paper and within the folds of its dusty pipe-rolls. This, however, makes the subject not less, but more interesting to the antiquarian. There is, therefore, the more reason why this society should endeavour to place on record as complete an account as may be of its Customs and rules. In many respects much that is peculiar in the Customs of this Manor forms an important link, connecting the institutions under which we live with those which our forefathers originated. Without a knowledge of the past it is impossible fully to understand the present, and it is vain to hope to provide wisely for the future.

In concluding this long, yet necessarily meagre sketch, I regret that time will not admit of my passing in review the deeds and lives of the wise and good and great men to whom the tenants of this ancient Manor have done fealty. There is no great or grand event hardly in the history of England with which the lords of this Manor in ancient times were not associated. When I mention the name of the Sainted Swithin, of Stigand, the devoted friend of Eadward and Earl Godwine; when we remember that Henry of Blois, grandson of the Conqueror, and Harry Beaufort, son of John of Gaunt, and Wolsey, the

Cardinal, all held this Manor; when we recall the names of William of Wykeham, of Waynefleet, and of Richard Fox, what is there that is great and grand in the history of our country which does not rise up before our eyes! The temptation is great, but I resist. I close, as I feel I should do, with cordial thanks to my hearers for the patience with which they have listened to my story.

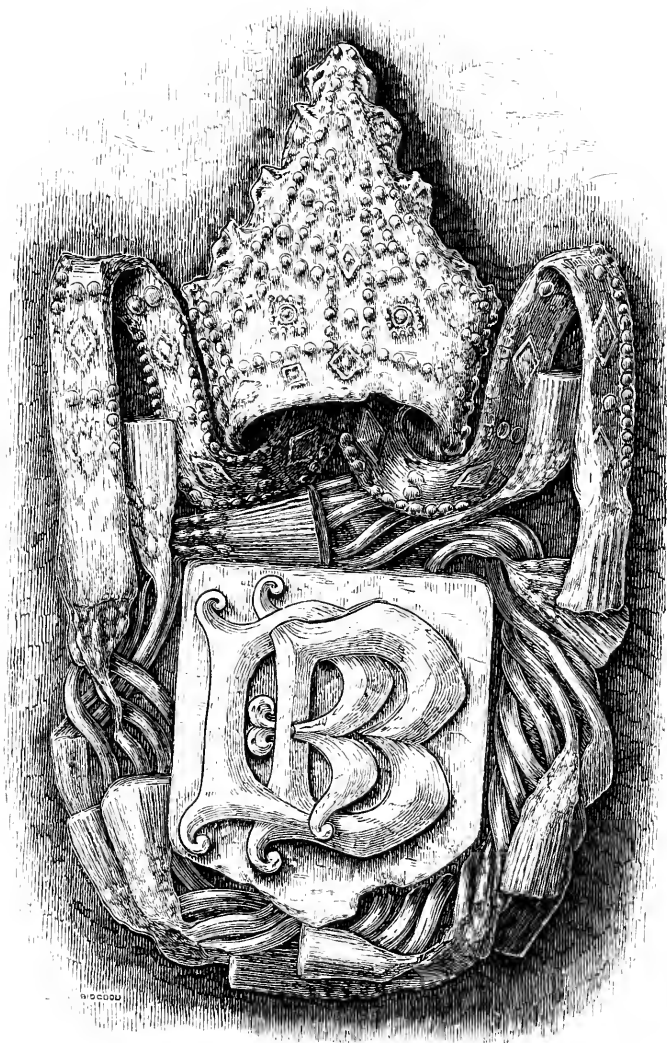
* * This Paper is printed as it was read, except that one clause is left out from the paragraph relating to the "Courtesy of Taunton Deane," in consequence of a statement made at the Meeting by the Deputy Steward, Mr. Meyler. All that is now given is based upon entries in the Records themselves and on the "Customary," presented by the Jury in 1647, by order of Parliament.

W. A. J.

The Hospital of S. Margaret, Taunton.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.S.A., ETC.,
HONORARY MEMBER.

FEW who possess a taste for the work of mediæval hands can enter Taunton by the London road without having their attention arrested by a picturesque old building wherein, although of humble aspect, the evidences of such presence are conspicuous. It occupies the angle between the highway and a lane, still called Mill Lane, which led to the famous mills of Tobrigge on the Tone, now and long since removed, and of which, apart from the information derived from ancient documents, the name of the green lane which led to them is the only existing memorial. The building is a long, low, and narrow structure, unmistakeably a row of almshouses, and consists of seven distinct tenements, each with a staircase communicating with a room above. The walls are of stone, faced for the most part with plaster, and covered with a thatched roof of considerable pitch. The first and last tenements stand out in advance of the five middle ones, but the roof is carried on continuously from one



PANEL ON THE HOSPITAL OF S. MARGARET, TAUNTON.

(Vol. xviii., p. 101.)

to the other, supported along the intervening space by thirteen wooden posts rising from a parapet wall, and thus forms with them a kind of cloister out of which the doors open to the several apartments. The entrance to this cloister, or gallery, is in the centre of the row, and a passage runs straight from it through the building itself to a well and large kitchen garden in the rear. Each tenement had a second door at the back, now walled up, communicating with the garden. In the wall between the window and the front door of one of the tenements is a curious recess, apparently original, the use of which is doubtful. The easternmost house is terminated by a high gable, much patched, as are all parts of the structure, with modern work, and a projecting chimney, whose ancient offsets yet remain. The western gable, which abuts on Mill Lane, is without a chimney, but preserves more of its original character than the other portions of the building, and has still a finial, coping, and plinth course of the sixteenth century. Most of the woodwork of the doorways and floors is of the same period. Before and at right angles to the western tenement, but not in actual contact with it, is a modern house, which, as I believe, occupies the site of a chapel that formed a part of the original establishment. In the front wall of the eastern house, facing a slip of carefully tended garden, gorgeous with fair colours and redolent of sweet perfumes, which lies between the edifice and the highroad, a very beautiful work of art is inserted, which is the principal object of the traveller's notice. It is a block of stone, two feet four inches in height and one foot seven inches in breadth, on which is boldly yet most delicately sculptured a shield bearing the interlaced letters R.B., and surmounted by a mitre which, and the strings that hang from it, are represented as richly

ornamented with jewels and embroidery. It is clear from these indications that Holy Church has here exercised Her sacred power for good, and that in this quaint old roadside Almshouse we have before us the remains of one of those establishments where the Divine precept was obeyed to the letter—to minister to the sick and to befriend the poor.

The building, which is still called "The Spital," was part of a Hospital for lepers, dedicated, as were many similar institutions, to S. Margaret, and founded at a time when victims of that terrible disease were far from uncommon. And the shield, with its monogram and fair surroundings, tells us of an endeavour by a princely Churchman long ages afterwards to perpetuate a blessing to which, if not a sudden catastrophe, at least the lapse of many generations had bequeathed its customary legacy of decay.

I will endeavour to furnish my reader with such an account of the old building and its fortunes as a long and careful search into multitudinous Records has enabled me to give him. It is only, I must admit, at rare intervals, among vast masses of manuscript documents of all descriptions, that a grain of information is to be acquired—all the more precious, however, from the obscurity in which it has been hitherto buried, and the labour involved in its exhumation. My reader must accordingly expect no more than this—for fragmentary the particulars which I can offer him must necessarily and unavoidably be. Indeed we may congratulate ourselves that the search has resulted in the discovery of so much which would have appeared to be lost to us for ever.

The history of the place, indeed, had all but passed into oblivion. A few lines are the most which are devoted to it either by general or by local historians, and even the sketch

which they furnish is unhappily made to give an erroneous notion of the most important fact in their account, the period of the foundation of the House. Tanner, Collinson, Toulmin, and the late editors of Dugdale, all the latter copying, as usual, from the first-named writer, unite in the assertion that the Hospital was “built by Thomas Lambrizt,* about the year 1270,”† and that “the advowson and patronage was granted about the year 1280 to the Abbot and Convent of Glastonbury” by the same Thomas Lambrizt.‡ Collinson says that it was “founded by one Lambrizt, or Lambright, a merchant of Taunton, in the time of Henry III.,” and loosely and indefinitely adds that it is mentioned before 1269, which is three years anterior to the end of that King’s reign.|| Mr. Savage, referring, however, to Tanner for “the only notice that we possess of the place,” evidently copies the last-named writer when he tells us that it was founded in the reign of Henry III., before the year 1269, by Thomas Lambright, whose successors about 1280 annexed the advowson thereof to the Abbey of Glastonbury. He adds that “Tradition assigns the foundation of this house to the time when St. Mary Magdalene’s Church was built in Taunton.”§

The authority on which all these writers depended for their imaginary fact was a MS. referred to by Bp. Tanner as “Cart. Glaston. MS. Macro, f. 119 b.” Most unhappily its whereabouts is at present and has for a long time past been unknown. It is said to have been rescued from

* Through the whole of this Memoir I give the names of Persons and Places in the orthography of the authority from which the information is derived.

† Collinson, Hist. of Somerset, III. 456.

‡ Tanner, Not. Somers. XI. 2. Dugdale, Mon. Angl. VI. 774.

|| Hist. of Somerset, III. 236.

§ Savage, History of Taunton, pp. 98, 99.

destruction by Bp. Tanner in a grocer's shop at Oxford in the year 1692, and to have passed into the hands of Dr. Cox Macro, of Norton, near Bury S. Edmunds, who died in 1767, and whose library has long since been dispersed. Where it is now, although it has oftentimes and by many enquirers been studiously sought for, I am unable to say. After I know not how many investigations pursued in various quarters, I think I have a clue to its recovery, but the MS. has been so long out of sight that I am by no means sanguine of success.

The truth, however, is—and this may tend to mitigate our regret at the absence of an authority of whose information on other points we might possibly have been rejoiced to avail ourselves—that the Hospital of S. Margaret was founded upwards of at the very least eighty-four years before the earliest of the dates which have been hitherto before us. It does not occur among the Chapels with which William Gyffard, Bp. of Winchester, enriched his infant Priory of Taunton about the year 1110. But I can prove its existence at little more than half a century subsequent to that date. I have found in two of the great Wells Registers a Charter of Stephen, Prior of Taunton, and his Canons in which they concede to Reginald, Bishop of Bath, among other matters, that all their Churches and Chapels shall make returns to him and his successors and their officials in all episcopal customs after the manner of the other churches in the diocese of Bath, except the chapels of S. James, S. George of the Well (Wilton), S. Margaret of the Sick, and S. Peter of the Castle, which the aforesaid Bishop had permitted to be exempt.* In the “*Capella S. Margarete Infirmorum*” we have doubtless

* Reg. Well. I. ff. 35 b., 36. Reg. III. f. 342. Appendix, No. I.

the House whose history I am endeavouring to elucidate. Among the witnesses to this agreement are William Abbot of Keynesham, Geoffrey, Thomas, Ralph, and Richard, Archdeacons respectively of Salisbury, Wells, Bath, and Coutances, and Walter Prior of Berlich. It is from these principal and attesting parties, for the instrument is un-dated, that we may obtain a very close approximation to the period at which this charter was made. Stephen was Prior of Taunton, as appears from various documents, from and perhaps before 1159 to and perhaps after 1189. Reginald was Bishop of Bath from 1174 to 1191. William was Abbot of Keynsham in 1175, and Walter was Prior of Berlich in the same year. Geoffrey was Archdeacon of Sarum in Oct. 1173, and his successor occurs in 1188. Thomas was Archdeacon of Wells in 1175, and his successor in 1185. Of Ralph and Richard I know nothing but what is here asserted. A moment's comparison of these various intervals will reduce us to a period between at the latest the years 1174 and 1185 for the date of the charter. This, it will be seen, does not give us the actual date of the foundation of the Hospital, but simply a proof of the fact of its existence at a period of at the very least eighty-four years before the date to which its foundation has hitherto been attributed. How much earlier than that time it came into being we have no present means of determining.

It would also appear from this charter that, although the Abbot and Convent of Glastonbury were the patrons of the parish Church of West Monkton, the Chapel of S. Margaret was in the patronage of the Priory of Taunton. And, further, that it was so poor as to be exempt from Episcopal customs—a fact which will presently have abundant corroboration.

In further proof of the more ancient date, I have been so fortunate as to find on the Patent Roll of the 20th year of Henry III. the grant of a Protection from the King to the Master and Brethren of the Leper Hospital of S. Margaret of Taunton, dated, witness the King, at Middelton, the 22nd of June, 1236.* The Protection is described as having the clause *Rogamus*, and was accordingly of the kind which was usually granted to collectors of alms for the poor of a Hospital, or in behalf of any other works of mercy, piety, and charity; and commanded the King's subjects to maintain, protect, and defend such collectors, and neither to bring on them nor to permit to be brought on them by others any injury, trouble, damage, violence, hindrance, or grievance.† I am afraid that all this is proof positive of the low estate of the Hospital, and that, if the absence of endowments be an ingredient of strength, it was at least in possession of this attribute in a very considerable degree. The institution, it is clear, was struggling for life, and its needs may not improbably have attracted the good offices of the worthy to whom has been attributed the honour of the foundation.

For the claim of Thomas Lambrit, how little soever he may be allowed to be the founder, to the honour of a benefactor of the Hospital is not to be disputed. What has been already advanced is only intended to correct an error in the date of the foundation, and not to interfere with the attribution of a part of the good work to him to whom the whole of it has hitherto been assigned. The name of Thomas Lambrit is not unfrequently found in the records of the time. In the "Hundred Rolls," which contain inquisitions taken in the second year of Edward I.,

* Pat. 20 Hen. III. m. 6. Appendix, No. II.

† See Fitzherbert, Nat. Brev. Ed. 1794. I. 29.

he is mentioned in union with the Abbot of Glastonbury, who, with his Convent, as I have already said, were the patrons of the parish Church of West Monkton, Henry de Wykesande, John de Reyni, and Adam de Cari, as possessed by ancient usage of right to take and hold the cattle of estrays found in their tenements in the Manor of Monkton.* In the Bodleian Library there are several agreements between the Abbots of Glastonbury and the Lambrights in connexion with lands in the Manor of Monkton; as of Thomas Lambright with land called Wadelesham in 1250, with common of pasture at Tobrugge in 1281, and with the mill of Crich about the same period,† but no mention is made in them either of S. Margaret's Chapel or Hospital. In this manor the same Thomas Lambrit was the master also of a Chapel, which may well be believed to be that on whose history we are now employed. For in a List of Charters concerning divers rents and gifts to the Church of Glastonbury, belonging to that Church in the time of Abbot John of Taunton, who ruled the Abbey from 1274 to 1290, there is a "Cautio," sans date, of T. Lambrit respecting his Chapel in the manor of Muncketone.‡

Added to this, and conclusive of the fact that he was a benefactor, there are accounts of various legal proceedings in the years 1279 and 1280 which distinctly prove that property had passed from Thomas Lambrith to the use and benefit of the Hospital. In the assizes before the Justices Itinerant, held at Montacute on the morrow of the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 7th year of Edward I., or the 16th August, 1279, examination was made as to whether John, Abbot of Glastonbury, and Henry, Master

* Rot. Hundred. II. 137.

† MS. Wood, I. p. 280.

‡ Joh. Glaston. Hist. Ed. Hearne, p. 392. E Cod. Cantab. f. 81 b.

of the House of S. Margaret outside Taunton, had unjustly disseised Thomas Lambrich of his free tenement in Moneketon, and of two shillings of rent, with appurtenances, issuing from a certain tenement in the same vill. The jurors returned a verdict on oath that the aforesaid Abbot had not disseised the aforesaid Thomas of the aforesaid rent; and therefore it was ordered that the Abbot should retire from the action *sine die*, while the plaintiff was judged to be *in misericordia* for his false claim. In behalf of the Master the jurors returned a verdict that the assize between him and the plaintiff ought not to proceed, inasmuch as the said Thomas was a suitor against him before the King's Justices in Banco by a certain writ touching customs and services, in which the rent aforesaid was contained. A further hearing was ordered at Ivelchester on the feast of S. Edmund, King and Martyr, the 20th of November, during the interval before which the rolls might be examined for proof of his declaration.*

This must not be considered a matter of litigation, but an amicable suit which was the common practice of the courts at that period in order to substantiate a right of possession. The opposition of the plaintiff was a legal fiction, and the verdict of the jury and sentence of the court on a difference which had no existence in fact had the effect of creating a legal title of the most public and notorious kind. As in the Final Concords, ordinarily called Fines, it was seen that no title could be so indubitable as one which had been the subject of legal enquiry, contested by one party and secured to the other by the ratification of a sentence of a court of law. A suit was

* Plac. de Jur. et Assis. 7 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{matrix} N \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{matrix} \right\} 2. \text{ rot. } 17. \text{ Appendix, No. III.}$

accordingly commenced, and, on the hearing of the case in court, a composition of the suit was entered into and judgment given for one of the parties, which was thus acknowledged as the legal owner of the land in question. The transaction was reduced to writing, and this perpetual memorial was preserved henceforth among the other records of the realm.*

Of like nature, I presume, was an action which I have found reported on the Roll of an Assize before the Justices Itinerant at Somerton on the morrow of the Ascension, in the 8th year of Edward I., the 31st of May, 1280. The Master of the House of lepers of S. Margaret outside Taunton was summoned to respond to Thomas de Lambrigg (in a duplicate roll† he is called Lambrich, which together with the one just given are evidently but forms of the name already familiar to us) in respect of the plea that he should do him customs and services due from a free tenement which he held of him in Munketon, as in rents, arrears, &c. The service was of two shillings a year. By the unjust detention of this service by the aforesaid Master for three years past, the plaintiff averred that he was injured to the value of twenty (in the other roll it is forty) shillings. The Master appeared to the summons, and showed that he did not hold the aforesaid messuage from the aforesaid Thomas. Sentence was given for him accordingly.‡

* See Preface to *Pedes Finium*, vol. I.

† Plac. de Jur. et Assis. 8 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 5 \\ 13 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 4. \text{ rot. } 30.$

‡ Plac. de Jur. et Assis. 8 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 5 \\ 13 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 3. \text{ rot. } 18 \text{ dors. } \text{Appendix, No. IV.}$

$\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 5 \\ 15 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 1. \text{ r. } 29 \text{ dors.}$

A similar case occurred at the same Assizes. Joan de Reygny preferred a claim against the Master of the Hospital in regard of two acres of meadow with appurtenances in Hanerich (or Hanecrich in the duplicate roll), into which the said Master had no entry except through Cecily la Brune (or Brutte), to whom William de Bikebury, father of the aforesaid Joan and whose heiress she is, demised them to the term now past. The Master defended his right, and alleged that he had not entered into the said land through the aforesaid Cecily, inasmuch as he found his Church seised of the same on the day whereon he was made Master. As Joan could not disprove this statement, the Master obtained judgment in his favour, and a secure title to the aforesaid land.*

It may be supposed that in these transactions we have a tolerably perfect series of the titles on which the House relied for the security of its little property. No doubt it also depended for aid in a considerable degree on the great Monastery with which it was connected, and on the vast revenues of which it could have been at the utmost but a trifling burden.

From the time at which we have arrived in its humble annals, it appears to have quietly done its work of mercy to the sufferers in whose behalf it was founded. Nothing, so far as I am aware, occurred for many ages to force it into the notoriety which would have been the certain effect of any marked accession of either good or evil fortune. The very progress of time, however, unchequered though it might be by circumstances of outward importance,

* Plac. de Jur. et Assis. 8 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 5 \\ 13 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 3. r. 16.$ $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 5 \\ 13 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 4. r. 85.$

$\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 5 \\ 14 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 1. r. 89.$ $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} M \\ 5 \\ 14 \end{smallmatrix} \right\} 4. r. 23 dors.$

brought at least one and that a necessary result in its train. The buildings needed repair, and renovations of all kinds were imperatively demanded after a long period of constant use. These were attempted to be supplied by a means to which those ages afforded abundance of charitable parallels. The immediate neighbourhood might have been unequal to all that was required, and recourse was had to the favourite mode which should bring the claims of a deserving charity before the kindly notice of a larger circle of friends and helpers. Accordingly, on the 10th of November, 1418, Bishop Bubwith granted at Banewell an Indulgence of thirty days to all who in a state of grace should contribute of their means to the Hospital of lepers by Tanton. The Indulgence was to last during pleasure.*

Of the result of this appeal we have no further means of judging than that it was upwards of fifty years before a similar mode of acquiring aid was put in practice. On the 2nd July, 1472, Bishop Stillington followed the example of his predecessor, and issued a Letter of Indulgence on behalf of the Hospital. He commences his missive with the usual benediction—health in Him through Whom is obtained forgiveness of sins—and proceeds to say that he is of opinion that men of his order exhibit pious obedience and what is well pleasing to God as often as they earnestly strive to incite the minds of the faithful to works of charity or other devotion by the persuasives of indulgencies. Relying, therefore, on the boundless mercy of Almighty God, and of the Most Blessed Virgin Mary His Mother, and on the merits and prayers of S. Andrew, SS. Peter and Paul, his patrons, and of all Saints, he grants to all Christians wheresoever throughout his diocese, and others

* Reg. Bubw. f. clj. b.

whose diocesans shall allow his indulgence to be in force and accepted, being truly penitent, contrite, and confessed, who to the relief of the poor, infirm, and leprous people of the Hospital and Chapel of S. Margaret, Virgin and Martyr, situate and standing at the eastern part of the town of Taunton, and to the restoration, repair, and support of the said Hospital, shall extend helping hands, and make grateful contributions of the goods given them of God, or leave legacies, or in any way convey charitable aid, forty days of indulgence, as often as they shall perform the aforesaid acts or any one of them. The letter was to last for five years from the date of the presents. It had the Bishop's seal appended, and was issued from his Inn outside New Temple Bar, in London, on the day above-mentioned.* The Bishop of Winchester, William Wayneflete, was pleased to follow his brother of Bath and Wells in his endeavour to benefit the Hospital, and granted from Suthwerke, on the 8th of the same month, a similar letter of indulgence of forty days for the works of charity above specified, and to last for the same period.†

We now arrive at a very important period in the history of the Hospital. There is an old legend that the edifice was burnt down in the early part of the reign of Henry VIII., and that it was rebuilt by an Abbot of Glastonbury. I hardly need add that the beautiful sculpture to which I referred at the commencement of my memoir very strongly confirms the accuracy of this tradition. The letters on the shield, which is identified by its surmounting mitre with an ecclesiastic of high rank, are the initials of the great Abbot of Glastonbury under whose superintendence the rebuilding was effected. Richard Beere was

* Reg. Still. f. lxxxj. b. Appendix, No. V.

† Reg. Wayneflete, tom. ij. f. 152.

confirmed Abbot on the 12th November, 1493, and died on the 20th of January, 1524. In the 22nd year of Henry VII. he was sent ambassador to Rome, and on his return, as indeed before his departure, he was employed in making great additions to his Abbey Church and Conventual buildings. Close to the Abbey he built an Almshouse, with a Chapel, for seven or ten poor women,* and rebuilt considerable portions of the Church of S. Benedict in the same town. A memorial of his labours in the last-named place exists in a sculptured stone of a precisely similar character to that before us. A shield, surmounted by a mitre and bearing the same initials, records the work of the same beneficent hand. From a comparison of these facts there will be little difficulty in our attribution of the re-erection of the House to its proper date. Remembering that Henry VIII. succeeded his father on the 22nd of April, 1509, and bearing in mind the tradition to which I have referred, we shall not be wrong in assigning the rebuilding of S. Margaret's Hospital by Abbot Richard Beere to one of the five years between 1510 and 1515.

Apart from its artistic beauty, and it is unmistakeably as well as superlatively great, it is worth while to direct attention to the monogram itself. It has been engraved in the *Gentleman's Magazine* for October, 1785, in the *Journal of the Somersetshire Archæological Society* for 1858, and elsewhere, but the present illustration is the first which can be said to be in any degree worthy of the original. Singular, also, has been its power to create confusion in the minds of antiquaries! Some when they observed it on S. Benedict's Church have considered that the first letter of the name of the Saint, with its

* B. Willis, *Hist. of Mitred Abbeys*, I. 106, 107. Leland, *Itin.* Ed. 1744. III. f. 86. pp. 103, 104.

sacred prefix, "S.B.," was intended to be represented. Others, who thought that the older was the work the more it was to be admired, have boldly insisted that both when it occurred on the Church and on the Hospital it meant nothing less than that each of these edifices was to be referred to the early period of A.D. 1133.* More singular still, perhaps, is it that the latter opinion, though as opposite as possible to the teaching actually conveyed by the object which was believed to furnish it, is nevertheless far closer to the truth than any conjecture of the date of the foundation which has hitherto been presented to the reader's notice.

This brings us down to about the year 1515. Twenty years afterwards the "Valor" was taken of ecclesiastical property in general, but no return of this seems to have been furnished. Ten years, however, had hardly elapsed before S. Margaret's Hospital had encountered some few drops of the fiery storm which was laying in ruin so many of its wealthier brethren. I need not enter into a narrative of the atrocities with which in other memoirs I have endeavoured to make my reader familiar, but will confine myself to the fortunes of the immediate subject of my research.

On the 1st of March, 36 Hen. VIII., 1544-5, a Request to purchase a part of the property was made by William Chaplyn and John Selwood. The enumeration of the various tenements and lands for which application was made comprises the denomination, extent, and reported value of each, with the names of the several occupiers, and includes an acre of land in the northern part of the Chapel of S. Margaret by Taunton, in the tenure or occu-

* Hearne, Hist. of Glaston. 8vo. 1722. p. 104. Gentleman's Magazine, Oct., 1785. p. 779.

pation of divers poor persons of the Spittelhowse there, the rent of which was vjs a year.* The bargain was speedily struck, for four days afterwards, on the 5th of the same month, the King granted to the aforesaid William Chaplyn and John Selwood, together with a number of other possessions, the following in Taunton:—Sundry tenements, gardens, cottages, and burgages, in Taunton extra portam, Canon-street, Middle-street, and S. James's-street, in the parishes of S. Mary Magdalene and S. James, formerly belonging to the late Priory of Taunton, four acres called Baldwynsland, certain parcels of land by Crechburgh Hill in the parish of West Monkton, certain parcels of land called Hyll in the same parish, and an acre of land in the northern part of the Chapel of S. Margaret by Taunton, then or lately, as aforesaid, in the tenure or occupation of divers poor persons of the Spittelhouse there. Also a void tenement and garden by the cemetery of the Chapel of S. Mary Magdalene. Also a house and void piece of land and a garden adjacent to the same called Seint Poles Chappell, situated in the western part of the town of Taunton, in the parish of Hill Busshopp. Also a piece of void ground and a garden adjacent to the same called Seynt Leonardes Chappell, in the northern part of the town of Taunton, in the parish of S. James, all formerly belonging to the late Priory of Taunton, and parcel of its possessions. The Taunton and West Monkton property was valued, one part, including that of the Hospital, at £6 19s. 7½*d.* a year; another at £29 12s. 4*d.*; and that of S. Paul's Chapel and S. Leonard's Chapel at 3s. a year. The property was to be held from Michaelmas last past, in free socage and not in chief, by fealty only for all

* Parts. for Grants, Will. Chapleyn and John Selwood, 36 Hen. VIII.

services, as of the Manor of Canford. Corrodies, fees, and annuities of all kinds whatsoever were given up and surrendered. The grant was passed, witness the King, at Westminster, on the day abovementioned.*

The Chapel in which age after age the Holy Sacrifice had been offered for the spiritual strength and soundness of those to whom it would seem that few temporal blessings had been vouchsafed, was the next to be engulfed in the common destruction. An Act for the suppression of Hospitals, Chapels, and Chantries was passed in the second year of Edward VI. It had been projected during the life of his abandoned father, but difficulties connected principally with what appear to have been some workings of remorse hindered its immediate operation. On the accession to the throne of his weak and ill-directed successor there was no longer any impediment in the way of unlimited aggression. The locusts devoured what the hail had spared. In order to extract the most from that which still remained to whet the appetite for plunder, a careful examination was made of the various properties, and a Certificate was returned of the state, value, and other peculiarities of each, which should form the basis of the future sale. In the Certificate of the Chapel with which we are now employed it is stated that the salary of the priest celebrating there is yearly worth in ready money to be levied and received out of the issues and revenues of the late Priory of Taunton, lxxvs viij*l*. Its plate consisted of a chalice of silver weighing xij oz., and its ornaments were praised at xiijs iiij*l*. It possessed a bell of the weight of xl*l*b. The incumbent was William Callowe, clerk, M.A., "of verrey honest conversation." The building is

* Orig. 36 Hen. VIII., p. 4, r. 93. Pat. 36 Hen. VIII., p. 14, mm. 13 (27), 12 (28), 11 (29). Abstract in Appendix, No. VI.

said to be covered with stones, and was praised for sale at xxs. Lastly follows a memorandum connected with the inmates of the Hospital :—" Ther be wⁱⁿ the same Hospitall vj poore lazare people, having for their relief, the mansion house of the same Hospitall, w^t a litle orcharde, adioynyng to the same wo^the yerely vs, and also other smalle *parcelles* of lande of the yerely value of xxiijs xd, and other relief they haue none, wherfore they make humble peti^cō for augmentacō of lyving."*

Such was the state of things in S. Margaret's Hospital in the summer of the year 1548.

It did not long remain so. On the 24th of January, 1548-9, the Chapel was rated for John Norres, of Taunton, and sold to him together with the bell for the sum of liijs iiijd. I presume he was unable to furnish the money, or perhaps voluntarily transferred his right, for on the 7th of the following March a Request to Purchase it was made by Giles Keylwey, of Strowde, in the County of Dorset, Esquire, and William Leonard, of Taunton, merchant, wherein the same details are given as those which I have just quoted from the Certificate, with the addition of the name of Christopher Davy as a presentor and appraiser. The document is signed by the examiner William Moryce, Supervisor of Particulars, and by the Commissioners Ry. Sakevyle, Wa: Mildmay, and Robt. Keylwey. In the margin is the note, in the autograph, I believe, of the execrable Sir Richd. Ryché, in favour of the petitioners, "The said Chapell and the bell is sold for liijs iiijd." On a slip of parchment fastened to the Request is an erroneous entry by Will. Burne, deputy of Will. Morice :—" Westmonketon. M^d. The Chapell

* Cert. of Chantries, No. 42, n. 31.

lately apperteyning to the Hospitall or Almosehowse ther is scituate within the paryshe of Saincte James, nere Taunton." Among the terms stated on the Request it is particularly expressed that the purchase money is to be paid all in hand, and on the other part that the King's Majesty is to discharge the purchaser of all incumbrances, except leases and covenants in the same and rents before allowed, and that the purchaser is to have the issues from Michaelmas last.*

Not a month escaped before the grant was made which it was the object of these preliminaries to secure. On the 2nd of April, 1549, the King granted to the parties aforesaid, for the sum of £1,676 14s. 9d., a large amount of Church property in various places—and among them "all that chapel in the parish of S. James' by Taunton, with appurtenances, lately belonging to the Hospital or Alms-house of Westmonketon, and all the walls, lead, bells, iron, glass, timber, and stones to the same late chapel belonging and pertaining, and of, in, or on the same remaining and being." In the same grant were conveyed to the same Keylway, who was possessed by an insatiate greed after Church lands—among much in various counties,—houses, tenements, and lands belonging to the Chantries of S. Mary Magdalene, Holy Trinity, Name of Jesus, Braddon, S. Mary the Virgin, Swinges, and S. Andrew, and the Fraternities of S. Sepulchre and Holy Cross—all in Taunton, with others in the same county. The patent was dated, witness the King, at Lieghes, on the day above-named.†

From comparison of the dates it is not improbable that I have found the record of the transfer of some of the

* Parts. for Grants, Keylweye, Giles. 3 Edw. VI., sect. 2.

† Pat. 3 Edw. VI. p. 1, mm. 35 (8)—39 (4). Appendix, No. VII.

“ornaments” of these very Taunton Chapels. On the 16th of February, 3 Edward VI., 1548-9, the following “Parcels of the Ornaments belonging to the late Colleges, Chantries, Free Chapels, &c., within the County of Somerset,” were passed “for Robert Freeke, serjeant of Rob. Keilway, Esq., for the sum of CXVs. to be paid all in hand:”—

Five vestments of crimson velvet, priced at	} xxvs.
v ^s the piece, one with another ..	
Four deacons and subdeacons of the same	} xxs.
colour, priced at v ^s the piece ..	
Seven vestments of blue and purple velvet,	} xxxijs. viij <i>d</i> .
priced at iiij ^s viij ^d the piece ..	
One old cope of cloth of gold, flowered with	} xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
blue velvet	
One cope of crimson velvet, with flowers	} xs.
of gold	
Two other copes, one of blue velvet, another	} xiijs. iiij <i>d</i> .
of murrey velvet, priced at vj ^s viij ^d the	
piece	

Examined by me W^m. Morice, Superv^r.*

As the master had obtained the Chapel, it is not improbable that the servant had secured the “ornaments,” and that some of these vestments and copes had been in long and sacred use in the various functions at S. Margaret’s.

We must now retrace our steps for a short period to introduce matter which my unwillingness to break the thread of my narrative has hitherto made me postpone.

It will be remembered that William Callowe was Incumbent of the Chapel. He was also incumbent of the

* Parts. for Grants, Edw. VI., vol. I., p. 102 *b*.

Chantry of S. Etheldred, in the Church of Taunton S. Mary Magdalene. His salary of *lxvjs. viijd.* for his duties at the Hospital was paid by the Prior. This was by an arrangement, the exact date of which I would have given in its chronological order if I had discovered it, whereby the Abbot of Glastonbury assigned to the Prior of Taunton sixty acres of land in his manor of West Monkton, to find a priest to say mass thrice a week in the Chapel of the Almshouse. Perhaps this was done at the time of the rebuilding by Abbot Beere, but I have not found the original grant, nor does any notice of it appear in the "Valor" before nor in the "Ministers' Accounts" after the suppression. We learn it, however, from a Survey of the possessions of the Abbey made immediately subsequent to the dissolution, from which, as it is full of interest for many of my local readers, I will give the portion which relates to the Manor of West Monkton exactly as it stands in the original Return. It was taken in the 31st year of Henry VIII., 1539-1540, for the purpose of furnishing the Court of Augmentations with an exact description of the property, and thus of facilitating its ultimate disposal.

"The Surveye of alle the Woodes Comens seu'all waters and benefyces app'teynyng to the Kynges Maistie w^t the lordships ensuyng, videlt.

WESTMOWNTON.

There ys a fysshing extending from the	} <i>vjs viij^d</i>
Mylles nowe in the tenure of M ^r Sooper vnto	
the see in length <i>vj</i> myles, the whiche ys letten	
to M ^r Thomas Warer by copy for <i>vjs viij^d</i> by	
yere	

There ys also a Quarre of Tylestone and Ragg	} <i>v^s</i>
whiche renteth by yere	

There ys no Woodes.

There ys a Comen called Lynche cont' C acr',
 of the whiche the Kyng may let yerely vnto
 Tyllage to the ten^{ants} x acres for ij^d an acre
 (for yt wylle bere but ij Croppes together)
 another Comen called Mounten Hethfeld cont'
 xl acres whereuppon groweth c'teyn Shruded
 Okes whiche ar letten w^t the Courthous to
 John Totehille. There ys another Comen called
 Bathpoole grene cont' xx acres

The personage is of the Kynges Highes gefte
 M^r Payne is Incombent. And it is worth by } xx^{li}
 yere aboue alle charges

The persone payeth xxvj^s viij^d pencōn to the } xxvj^s viij^d
 Sexton of Glastonbury

M^d to se the booke of accompt whether vj^s viij^d for the
 rent of Courthouse and iij acres of land be charged or not.

M^d there is lx acres land and pasture by estymacōn
 lying togethers seu'alle nowe voyd and in the Kynges
 handes for default of a Ten^{ant} whiche was late assigned by
 the abbot of Glastonbury to the prior of Taunton to fynd
 a prest to saye Masse thrise a weeke in the Almeshowse at
 Taunton townesende.

[*A side note to the last memorandum.*]

Will'a' Waltō the yōger offeryth for the sāe iiij^{li} by the
 yere & iiij^{li} for a fyne.

S^m—iiij^{li} Terr' div's'

S^m acr' bosci ib'm—n^l''*

The stipend thus accounted for was continued to him,
 though no doubt paid as others were irregularly enough;

* Miscel. Voll. Off. Augment. 420. ff. 53. 53b. Add MS. B.M. 15,662.
 ff. 164–166.

and we find him in 1556 among the surviving pensionaries in Cardinal Pole's Book, where he is called "the last Incumbent of another Service in Westemonketon," as there was one in the Parish Church, and in the receipt of his old allowance.*

From the time of the Suppression down to the end of the reign of Edward the VI., 1553, the "Ministers' Accounts" furnish us with sundry particulars, given with very little variation year after year, in connexion with S. Margaret's Hospital and its neighbourhood.† The following are literally translated from the Return for the year 32-33 Henry VIII., from Michaelmas, 1540, to the same feast, 1541, and will be of similar interest to the Survey already quoted. The four pence and the pound of cummin of annual rent carry us back—it is probable—to the early days of the Hospital, when these payments were not so much equivalents of property possessed as acknowledgments of subjection to the superior lord.

Account of All and Singular Bailiffs, &c., of our Lord the King, of the late Monastery of Glastonbury, for one whole year, &c., as above given.

WESTEMONKETON.

Rents of Assize.

The bailiff answereth for iiij^d of rent of assize of the Almshouse called Seynt Margarettes by the town of Taunton, for certain lands there by year. But for j lb of Cummin, of rent of assize of the same Almshouse, he doth not answer, because it was delivered to the Auditor of our Lord the King there for his fee.

* Card. Pole's Pension Book, fol. xxxj.

† Ministers' Accounts :—32-33 Hen. VIII. No. 103. 33-34, No. 156. 34-35, No. 159. 35-36, No. 183. 38 Hen. VIII.—1 Edw. VI. No. 60. 1-2 Edw. VI. No. 45. 2-3, No. 48. 3-4, No. 52. 4-5, No. 47. 5-6, No. 38.

Farm of the Mills.

And for xxiijs^s iiij^d of the rent of the farm of one mill there, so demised to Roger Adamps by year. And for xxiijs^s iiij^d of the farm of one mill there, so demised to William Adamps by year. And for cvjs^s viij^d of the farm of the mills there, called Bathpoles Mylles, so demised to Margaret Soper by year, &c.

Sum :—viij^{li} xiijs^s iiij^d

Issues of the Manor.

And for xij^d of the issues of the new stone quarry, so demised to Thomas Drayton and Hugh Smythney by year during their life. And for iijs^s iiij^d of a certain custom there paid by the tenants, called Ploughsylv^r, to wit, every tenant pays for every plough by ancient due xiiij^d, and so in charge this year by oath of accountant as above. And for vjs^s viij^d of rent of the manor house with the dovecot, and the herbage of a garden there by year, in the tenure of John Totehyll, &c.

Sum :—xij^s*

The manor of Westmonketon, together with the advowson of the Church and the pension of xxvjs^s viij^d which the incumbent paid to the Abbey of Glastonbury, was granted to William, earl of Wiltes, witness the King, at Westminster, on the 1st of May, 1547.†

No Request that I can discover was made during all this time to purchase the Almshouse itself, and I feel tolerably sure that it would not have escaped me if the document were still in existence: It is therefore probable that, as was the case with the Hospital of S. John Baptist at Bath, thanks to some powerful man in the neighbour-

* Ministers' Accounts, 32-33 Hen. VIII. No. 103. 4-5 Edw. VI. No. 47. Add. MS. B.M. 15,662. ff. 167, 168.

† Orig. 1 Edw. VI. p. 1. rot 88.

hood, the old building continued without interruption to be devoted to its ancient use, though of so much that had made it a blessing to its inmates they had been thus summarily dispossessed. The continuance of the payments before mentioned—I presume by its inmates—leads to the same conclusion. I have found, however, a Request to Purchase various lands in the Parishes of West Monkton and Bishop's Hull, which from the occurrence of certain names appear to have had some connexion with the Hospital property. This, however, is conjecture and conjecture only.

On the 8th June, 1554, a Request to Purchase was made by William Morgan of Pentrebagham, gent., and Jerome Halley of London, gent., of two acres of arable land in Bishop's Hull called Courthaies, rented at *vj^s viij^d* a year; of two acres of arable land by Hamewoode Barne, rented at *xvj^d* a year; and of one house called the Churchehous, in the tenure of the Churchwardens of Bishop's Hull, rented at *iiij^s* a year. In Westmonkton there was the first crop of grass in four acres of meadow in a certain meadow called Hankeridge Meade. In another Particular for the Grant of the same property, in the 7th of Edw. VI., which did not lead to the intended result, it is stated that "the gresse or furst vesture, growing vpon the foure acres of meadowe was gyven to the Prior of Taunton by S^r Hughe Pawlettes Auncetours, and after the gresse thereof was Cutt downe and caryed awaye, then the said S^r Hughe Pawlettes Auncetours and there heyres did alwayes injoye the same meade all the yere after."* It was now in the yearly tenancy of John Cuffe and John Norrys, and was rented at

* Parts for Grants, Bysse. 7 Edw. VI.

iiij^s a year.* All these properties were parcel of the possessions of the late Priory of Taunton. On the 11th of the same month the grant was passed. The lands were to be held in free and common socage, as of the manor of Estgrenewyche, witness the Queen, at Westminster, on the above-mentioned day.†

I have already said that the old building seems to have escaped the general fate of its fellows in the reign of Edward VI., and to have been still employed in accordance with its previous use. Those were days, however, of universal misrule, when men did very much what was right in their own eyes to the injury of all besides. The proudest in the land had set an evil example, and the lowest did but follow where the highest had led the way. Thus, although in a few places some of the old foundations had been allowed to survive the general catastrophe, hardly one of them was permitted to retain the whole of its former possessions. We have seen that even of the little property of the poor inmates of S. Margaret's a part had been surrendered to the greed of the spoiler so early as the year 1545. At the period of its history at which we have arrived there were evidently some further attempts in the same direction. Various irregularities were reported, and summary steps were taken for their suppression. Indeed the evil was at once so flagrant and so general that a statute had been passed, entitled "An Act to redress the misemployment of lands, goods, and stocks of money heretofore given to charitable uses,"‡ which gave the Lord Chancellor, or Keeper of the Great Seal, power to issue a Commission which should take evidence on oath, and

* Parts. for Grants, William Morgan and Jerome Halley. 1 Mary.

† Pat. 1 Mary, p. 6, mm. (4) 32, (5) 33.

‡ 43 Eliz. c. 4.

after such enquiry set down such Orders, Judgments, and Decrees, as they should deem proper for the future prevention of the wrong.

S. Margaret's Hospital fell under the wholesome operation of this statute. A Commission was awarded, as above described, out of the Court of Chancery, directed to Sir John Portman, knight and bart., Thomas Warre and John Tyms, esquires, and others his Majesty's justices of peace for the county of Somerset, to make the necessary examination. They found upon oath of certain parties whom they called before them a very sufficient reason for the interference of the Court. They reported, among other usurpations, that "one Humphrey Quick, late of West Monkton, deceased, heretofore hath taken away and embezzled such writings and evidence as did concern the ordering and governing of the Almshouse in West Monkton, commonly called the Spattall House."* It appeared, further, to the said Commissioners that the election of the Governor of the house for the time being, and the poor there placed, and the ordering thereof, had hitherto been by the consent of two justices of peace there next adjoining, and of the Churchwardens and Overseers of the Poor of the Parish of West Monkton, for the time being. This arrangement was approved of, and ordered to take effect for the future. Upon this, accordingly, was passed an unanimous Order of Sessions, dated 15th September, 1612, regulating for the time to come the management of the Almshouse in the manner aforesaid, and electing one George Orchard to be Governor of the house and family there, during pleasure and on his good behaviour.†

* Report of the Commissioners of Charities, vol. 11, pp. 492-496.

† Ibid, p. 496.

In Mr. R. King Meade King's excellent paper on West Monkton in the time of Elizabeth and James I., where, if the local records could have supplied such information, we should have been sure to find it—not but that a country parish is the most unlikely place in the world to discover any MSS. Records of its ancient state,—the earliest date at which mention is made of the use of the Hospital as the Parish Almshouse is that of 1612.* The local archives can supply us with no further details. And as for “the deeds relating to the Spital Charity,” Mr. Meade King further informs me in a most obliging letter, “all of them have unfortunately long been lost, and therefore what is now known respecting it rests mainly on tradition.”

By indenture, dated 12th February, 16 James I., 1618-9, Rd. Parr, Lord of the Manor of West Monkton, leased to the Churchwardens of the Parish, and a person styled the Governor of the Hospital, to John Clawsey, all that tenement in Littleton, and certain parcels of land and pasture thereto belonging, named Crowell, Warley, Mead Furland, Middle Furland, Vinigrove, upon Haiwell, next Hurcotfield, above Chassell, and Stichens, &c., &c., all in Littleton, in the Parish of Compton Dundon, then in the occupation of John Clawsey aforesaid, for three score years, determinable with his life, and paying to the Governors of the said Hospital £2 13s. 4*d.* per annum.†

The Hospital is also said to have a piece of land at Maddox Tree, in the Parish of Thorne Falcon, of 6 acres and 36 poles customary measure, but the Report is silent as to the source from which it was obtained.‡

Although it would appear from the foregoing names and

* Proceedings of Somers. Arch. Soc., vol. xj., p. 169.

† Charity Commissioners' Report, vol. 11, pp. 492, 493.

‡ Ibid, p. 493.

situations of the lands, from which the present income of the Charity is mainly derived, that most of them are the benefactions of more recent times, I think there are evidences that some of the ancient gifts were permitted to remain without alienation. The Commissioners' Report before cited asserts that the House is and has long been entitled to three small closes in the immediate neighbourhood—indeed it would appear from the Certificate of 1548 that these small parcels of land and that mentioned subsequently were then its sole possessions,—a “field next the Turnpike-gate,” another “field next the Spittal,” and another “field next Mr. Glover's,” amounting in all to $3\frac{1}{2}$ acres, which certainly may be those to which reference was made in that document; while the Hankridge Farm, called in the Charity Report “North Anchorage,” near the high London Road, from which a yearly payment of £2 10s. is still derived, can hardly be any other place than the two acres with appurtenances in Hanecrich, which, as we have seen, was the property of the Hospital before the year 1280—six hundred years ago. With the exception, therefore, of localities which Religion has more than ordinarily identified with Herself as the site and scene of Her special ministrations, it would be difficult if not impossible to point to a spot in the County of Somerset which has for so long and continuous a period been associated with pious uses as the humble abode whose history I have endeavoured to rescue from the undeserved oblivion into which it had fallen.

To bring down that history to our own time, I would add that from the year 1612, when the Court of Chancery regulated the government of the Almshouse, the place has been uninterruptedly devoted to its present use. In 1750 there were six residents, and the number has usually been the same. Here for century after century have many

who deserved well from those able to help spent the last days of a life of labour, and have gone down to their graves, neither dishonoured nor disregarded by their connexion with the place or its associations. More than one of the old inmates I have known in days when I lived in their neighbourhood, and the remembrance of them is the very reverse of painful. Within the last few days also I have made the acquaintance of the present residents, seven in number, and I have never seen seven consecutive tenements more eloquent of home and home comfort. Every one of them with its cheery fire, its shelves full of old china and glass, its gay prints of occurrences in Sacred Scripture, and its bright array of culinary adjuncts and well-worn furniture, is a charming picture of a poor woman's abode. I am informed, however, by the same gentleman to whom I have already expressed my obligations, that "the only advantage the inmates derive from the Charity is that they live house-rent free, but they are all recipients of Parish Relief. As a *quid pro quo*, the Overseers receive the rents of the various lands, amounting at present to £45 10s., which rents are regularly credited in their yearly accounts passed by the Union Auditor, and go into the general fund in aid of the Poor Rates. The Overseers out of their funds keep the 'Spital' in repair."

Such is the history of S. Margaret's Hospital, so far as existing Records have enabled me to present it to the reader, from the twelfth to the nineteenth century. From an use which by God's great mercy has ceased to be necessary, it has passed to be a quiet and not unhappy refuge of venerable old age; and still, seven hundred years and more after its first foundation, through mediæval to modern England, appeals, humble though it be, to sympathy and kindly interest, as the home of some whose very help-

lessness constitutes their power, and breathes to us, from every open door in its old cloister, the consolatory truth that even here may happiness be found, and that even such as these,

“of native strength possess’d,
“Though very poor, may still be very bless’d.”

Before I conclude I wish to make a few observations on a subject which could hardly fail to be suggested to the reader during the latter part of the previous Memoir, and to illustrate the same by means of two documents which cannot but be of considerable interest to Tauntonians in general. It must have struck him as a thing of unsurpassed enormity that Chapels and Hospitals, institutions of general utility and whose office was commensurate with the needs of human nature at large, should have been as summarily and unconcernedly dispossessed of their means of imparting benefit, as though there were none to require their aid or they themselves were unwilling to supply it. It is well known that I am entirely opposed to the feeling, but I can so far throw myself into the minds of others as to understand some of the grounds of dislike to monastic institutions and of a desire for their suppression. These grounds are in my judgment based on modern prejudice, and ignorance of that which the maligners revile. But even these are absent when we endeavour to understand the causes of the aggression on the Chapels and Hospitals. The deduction is inevitable that at the time when these establishments were suppressed in England, hostility to them was based far more on a robber’s reason than on any other. The rents rather than the religion of the Monasteries gave the impulse to men whom it would be simple absurdity and a clear proof of ignorance of history to regard in any other light than as the basest, most infamous,

and abandoned of mankind. The whole of what we know of their lives, both public and private, forbids any other conclusion. For widely different reasons from those by which these miscreants were actuated many of the moderns look with favour on the result at which they arrived. They have in many instances little or no sympathy with them in the greed which urged them forward in their horrible work, while they regard that work from a point of view of which the actual perpetrators of the wrong had very little if any idea. The one look at the matter from what they imagine the point of morality, the other from that of self-aggrandisement. And the fate of the Chapels and Hospitals proves to demonstration the accuracy of my view. Here was money to be appropriated, but no abuses to be rectified; and as money and not abuses was the real consideration, the Chapels and Hospitals were doomed. To us their suppression appears unaccountable, simply because we have been taught to regard the movement in a false light and have not mastered the characters of the actors. Their one object was to "take possession," like the tyrant of older date. And if the death of the owners and the total cessation of spiritual blessings throughout whole neighbourhoods were the result of the appropriation, it gave them no manner of concern.

It would seem indeed a curious kind of benefit which should summarily remove the means of grace from places where they had been abundantly offered, religiously appreciated, and heartily and gratefully enjoyed. It would appear a singular way of promoting the illumination of the people to turn Churches and Chapels into dwelling-houses or farm buildings, and to convert their ornaments into coverings of chairs and tables,* and other ordinary

* Héylin, Hist. of Edw. VI. p. 134.

adornments of secular abodes. Without extending his view to the neighbourhood, and to say nothing of the country at large where the same atrocities were visible at every turn, let my reader confine his attention to Taunton, and picture to himself the loss which religion must have sustained by the suppression—not of the Priory, for on that I am not now employed, calamitous as I most firmly believe that suppression was, but—of the various Chapels with which every part of the town was furnished. There was, to give precedence to that which has been the subject of the present investigation, S. Margaret's Chapel, at the eastern end of the town. Not far from the Conventual Church was Nethewayes Chapel. S. Mary Magdalene's Chapel was near the Church of the same name ; S. Paul's Chapel near the present Church of St. John, and S. Leonard's Chapel in Northtown—the very localities, I beg the reader to remark, where either similar edifices have been erected by the munificence of later times, or the continued absence of which is pronounced by common consent a thing to be deplored. Granting that religious worship and priestly direction are valuable, which is no very great concession, the suppression of these places can be regarded in no other light than as an outrage done to religion in general, and a return, so far as the perpetrators could effect it, to the heathenism from which in earlier and better times the system of which they were a part had blessedly rescued the land. Nor must it be forgotten that the individuals to whom these consecrated places were thus summarily disposed of, as so many common tenements and fields, were bound by the purchase to no acts of piety, kindness or charity to the neighbourhoods from which the benefit was taken. The bell ceased to summon the worshippers to prayer, the priest was no longer at hand to do his sacred

function, the thousand influences for good which a House of God can originate—all were gone, and in their place was some godless grantee who cared for nothing but his pelf, and to elevate a family which until those days of rebuke and blasphemy had never so much as been heard of. The result was soon conspicuous. Irreligion, immorality, a disruption of the ties that bind society together, lack of spiritual direction, absence of education for the young and of charitable aid to the sick, the desolate, and the poor—such were the precious fruits of the new system of things, the weeds which indicated the nature of the soil on which they grew. Taunton soon discovered the change from the old days when what she had lost was possessed and enjoyed, and yearned after blessings which were beyond recall. She first poured forth her complaint in a request to the Commissioners for the sale of Chapels and Chantries in 1548, and thus states her requirements in one of the particulars to which I have referred:—

“Memor^d. Thenhabitauntes of the towne of Taunton aforesaide, the vjth Daye of Aprill an^o Regis E. vj^{ti}. ij^{do}. make humble request vnto the cōmyssiono^rs in maner and fo^rme followinge. Wher ther is wⁱn the said towne of Tawnton, beinge the greatest, and best market towne in all that shire, scituate in a verray holsome good, and plentyfull Soyle a faire large and goodly howse, new buylded erected and made for a Schole-howse about xxv yeres nowe past. Wherin was a Scole Mr, and an Vssher founde the space of xij or xiiij yeres, for the vertuouse educacōn and teaching of yewthe, aswell of the saide towne of Taunton, as of the hole contrye, to the nombr of vij or viij score Scolers, by the devocōn of one Roger Hill of the same towne merchaunt nowe deceased, a great Relief also to the same towne of Taunton. And now sythe the deathe of the same Roger Hill the saide Schole-

howse standyth voyde, w^{out} either Mr, Vssher, or Scolers, to the great preiudice hurte and discomoditie of the comen Welthe of the saide Shire. Whervppon the saide enhabitauntes make most humble sute vnto the Kinges ma^{tie}. that yt maye please his highnes to graunte, and assigne suche landes and tenementes in perpetuytie as shalbe thought mete vnto his grace and his most hono^rable counsaile, to the maynten^ance and finding of a Maister and Vssher, to teach in the same Scolehowse, w^{ch} no doubt is most bewtifull and most necessarie place of all that shire.”*

I am afraid that the records of the College School will not present a very favourable account of the answer to this petition.

As an evidence of the decline of religious duty which presently ensued on the removal of the ancient means of grace, I may add from the already quoted Certificate that after a short declaration of the value of the vicarage, name of incumbent, &c., occurs the following :—“Partakers of the Lord’s Holy Supper there MMMM (4,000) persons.” After the lapse of more than three hundred years, with all their accessions of so-called progress, can Taunton show the like number now? I leave the Clergy to answer the question.

The second document which I will give, and with which my Memoir shall conclude, is copied from an original paper of the time of Queen Elizabeth, for which I have to thank a friend in London. Of Taunton Clergy, School, and Poor the MS. thus bears its unhappy testimony. The impoverished town had indeed found out its great and irremediable loss. There was all the difference in the world between “now and then.”

* Certificate of Chantries, No. 42. n. 20.

“There is w^{thin} the towne of Tanton a parishe of the greateste Cure w^{thin} the countye of Somers^t w^{ch} was wonte to be discharged by the Pryor, and now thallowance out of the vicarag is but eightine ponde by yere, Soe that the towne besides theise eightine poundes doethe Supplie all the reste of the maintenance for a Preacher and a Curat w^{ch} they alwaies there maintein.

“It’m there is in Taunton a great Scoole wherein ar comenlie taught two hundred scollers and but twentie markes be longinge vnto it, so that the reste above that towardes the maintenance of a Scoolemaster and Vssher w^{ch} they haue alwaies there the towne doeth supplie of his owne Charge.

“It’m there ar w^{thin} the towne and parishe of Tanton xliij^{or} almshouses full of poore people where vnto there was certen Lande belonginge w^{ch} by the Suppression of Chaunteries was taken awaie, Soe that now thinhabitauntes doe beare the whole burden them selves.”

Endorsed :—

“Somerset. the consyderacōns for the graunte of the lybertyes in Taunton.”

Comment on these documents is altogether unnecessary. I leave them to speak for themselves, and will but draw from the whole matter, as the moral of the tale, the conclusion of the learned antiquary :—“I am not by any means an enemy of Reformation, but then—I hope wickedness will not be called such.”

THOMAS HUGO.

APPENDIX.

No. I.

[E Reg. Well. I. ff. 35b, 36.]

Carta de Priore. S. Tantoñ. & de conuentu de Cap'llis suis.

Vniu'sis xp'i fidelib' ad quos p'sens scriptum p'uen'it. Stephanus P'or & canonici Tantonie Salut'. Nou'it uni-u'sitas u'ra nos concessisse domino & p'ri n'ro Rain' dei gr'a. Bathonie ep'o. qu'd omnes eccl'ie & cap'lle n're respondeant ip'i & successorib'. & officialib' suis in omnib' consuetudinib' ep'alib' more aliarum ecc'liar' ep'atu Bath' consistencium. exceptis capellis s'ci iacobi & s'ci Georgij de fonte. & sancte Margarete infirmorum. & Sancti petri de castello q'rum immunitatem nob' p'fatus d'ns ep'e' indul'sit. Concessim' p't'ea [&c.] Quod ut ratum h'atur & firmum. p'senti scripto & sigilli n'ri appo'ne duximus f'mandum. Hiis testib'. Will'o abb'e de Kaynesham. Galfrid' Saru'. Thom' Well' Rad'. Bathon. Ric. Constanc' Archid'. Mag'r' Waltero Priore de Berliz. Jocelino cap'll'o. Will'o cap'll'o. Mag'ro alexandro. Mag'ro Gilb'rto de Axeb'g'. Mag'ro Rogero.

No. II.

[Pat. 20 Hen. III. m. 6.]

De P'teccione. Mag'r & f'res lep'si Hospital' S'ce Margar' de Taunt' h'nt litt'as de p'teccōne pat' s'n t'mio cu' hac clausula Rogam' T. R. apud Middelton'. xxij^o die Jun.'

No. III.

[Plac. de Jur. & Assis. 7 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{smallmatrix} N \\ 2 \\ 3 \end{smallmatrix} \right\}$ 2. rot. 17.]

Assis' Jur' & attingte capt' apud Montem Acutu' coram

Walt'o de Wymborn & Thom' de se'o Vigore anno regni reg' Edward' Septimo. In c^astino Assumpcōnis be' mar'.

Assis' ven'. ret'. Si Joh'nes Abbas Glaston' & fr' Henr' Mag'r Domus S'ce Margar' Lep'sor' ext^a Tanton' Iniuste &c. disseis' Thom' Lambrich de lib'o ten' suo in Moneketon' post p^am &c. Et vnde quer' q'd disseis' eu' de duob' solid' redditus cum p'tin' que p'uen' de quoda' ten' in eadem villa.

Et p'd'ci Abbas & alii p' Ric'm Pyk Ball' d'ci Abb'is ven' et dic' p' p'd'co Abb'e q'd p'd'cus Abbas nō disseis' p'd'cm Thom' de p'd'co redd' & de hoc pon' se sup' ass^am Et Thom' simil'r.

Jur' dic' sup' sacr^am suu' q'd p'd'cus Abbas non disseis' p'd'cm Thom' de p'd'co redd' Et Ideo cons' est q'd p'd'cus Abbas inde sine die. Et p'd'cus Thom' in m'ia p' fals' clam'. p'donat' q' paup'.

Et p' p'd'co mag'ro p'd'ci Hospital' dic' q'd assis' int' ip'os nō debet p'cedere quia dicit q'd idem Thom' implacitat ip'm coram Justic' d'ni Reg' de Banco p' quoddam b're de recto de cons' & s'uic' in quo continētr. p'd'ci. duo sol' redd' Et de hoc ponit se sup' rot'los p'd'cor' Justic'

Dies datus est eis apud Iuelcestr' die s'ci Edmund' Reg' & m^artir' & int'im querantr rotuli &c.

No. IV.

[Plac. de Jur. & Assis. 8 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{array}{c} M \\ 5 \\ 13 \end{array} \right\} 3. \text{ rot. } 18 \text{ dors.}]$

Pl'ita de Jur' & Ass'is Coram Salom' de Roff' & Soc Suis Justiciar' Itiner' Apud Som'ton' In Com' Som'ers' In Crastino Ascensionis D'ni Anno Regni Reg. E. viij. Boylūd.

Mag'r Domus Lep'sor' S'ce Margar' ex^a Taunton' sūm fuit ad respondend' Thome de Lambrigg' de pl'to q'd faciat ei consuetudines & recta s'uicia que ei fac'e debet de lib'o ten' suo quod de eo tenet in Munketon' vt in reddit' arrerag' & aliis. Et vnde dicit q'd cum p'd'cus mag'r teneat de eo vnu' mes' cum p'tin' in Munketon' p' s'uiciu' duor' solidor' p' annu'. Et ip'e fuisset inde in seis^a p' manus p'd'ci mag'ri. quousq' iam trib' annis elaps' p'd'cus mag'r p'd'cm s'uiciu' ei iniuste detinuit & adhuc

detinet. unde dicit q'd det'ioratus est & dampnu h'et ad valenc' viginti solidor'. Et inde p'ducit sectam &c.

Et mag'r venit & defendit vim & iniur' qu' &c. Et dicit q'd nō tenet p'd'em mes' in Munketon' de p'd'co Thoma nec de eo ten'e clam'. Et id'o cons' est q'd p'd'cus mag'r eat inde sū die. Et Thom' nich' cap' p' br'e suum set sit in mīa p' fl'o clam'.

No. V.

[E Reg. Stillington, fol. lxxxjb.]

Littera Indulgentie. Vniuersis sancte matris eccl'ie filijs ad quos presentes l're p'uen'int Robertus p'missione diuina Bathonien' & Wellen' Ep'us Salutem in eo p' quem fit remissio p'ccor' Pium obsequiu' & deo gratum tociens impendere opinamur quociens fidelium mentes ad caritatis vel alterius pie deuocōnis op'a allectiuīs indulgentiar' munerib' p'pensius excitamus. De dei igitur om̄ipotent' im̄ensa misericordia et beatissime Marie Virginis matris sue ac beator' Andree Petri & Pauli Ap'lor' p'ronor' n'ror' oīmq' s'cor' meritis et precib' confident' cunct' xpīcolis p' n'ram dioc' vbil'it' constitutis & alijs quor' diocesani hanc n'ram indulgentiam ratam habuerint p'iter & acceptam de p'cc'is suis vere penitentib' contritis & confessis qui ad releuacōem paup'um infirmor' & leprosor' hospit'lis ac Capelle b'te Margarete Virginis & martiris ad orientalem p'tem ville de Taunton' n're p'dict' dioc' sit' & erect' refecōem rep'acōem & sustentacōem manus porrex'int adiutrices ac aliqua de bonis sibi a deo collatis grata contulerint legau'int seu quouismodo assignau'int subsidia caritatis quadraginta dies indulgentie tociens quociens p'missa vel aliquod p'missor' fecerint gracōse concedimus p' p'sentes p' quinquenniu' post dat' p'sentiu' t'mmodo duratur' In cuius Rei testimoniu' Sigillum n'r'm fecim' hijs apponi Dat' in hospicio n'ro extra Barram Noui Templi, London' Londonien' dioc' secundo die mens' Julij Anno d'ni Mill'imo cccc^{mo} septuagesimo secundo Et n're Cons' Anno septimo.

No. VI.

[Abstract of Pat. 36 Hen. VIII. p. 14. m. 13.]

Rex om'b' ad quos [&c.] Sciatis q'd nos [&c.] dedim'

[&c.] Will'o Chapleyn & Joh'i Selwood [&c.] c't' t'ras ten' gardina cotagia & burgagia n'ra cum suis p'tin' iacen' & existen' ext^a portam Canonstrete Middelstrete & Seynt James strete in parochijs S'ce Marie Magdalene tam infra q^m ext^a burgum de Tawnton S'ci Jacobi & Westmonkton p'pe Tawnton [&c.] nup' Prioratui de Taunton modo dissoluto dudum p'tin' siue spectan' [&c.] Ac quatuor acras t're n're ibidem vocat' Baldwynsland modo vel nup' in tenura Nich'i Walrond aut assign' suor' ac c'tas p'cell' t're n're iacen' p'pe Crechburgh Hlll infra dict' parochiam de Westmonkton p'dict' modo vel nup' in tenura Joh'is Totchill aut assign' suor' Ac c'tas p'cell' t're n're iacen' in d'ca parochia de Westmonkton p'dict' vocat' hyll modo vel nup' in tenura Johanne God vidue aut assign' suor' Ac totam illam acram t're n're in boriali parte Capelle S'ce Margarete iuxta Taunton modo vel nup' in tenura siue occupacōe diu'sor' paup'um de le Spittelhouse ibidem Neenon om'ia illa t'ras ten' gardina curtilagia cotagia siue burgagia n'ra cum suis p'tin' iacen' & existen' tam infra q^m ext^a dict' portam Canonstrete Midlestrete & Saint James strete p'dict' [&c.] ac eciam vnu' vacuu' ten' & gardinu' iuxta Cemitoriu' Capelle d'ine Marie Magdalene [&c.] Seint Poles Chappel [&c.] Seynt Leonard' Chappell — [&c.] In cuius &c. T R apud Westm' quinto die marcij.

No. VII.

[Abstract of Pat. 3 Edw. VI. p. 1. m. 35.]

Rex omnib' ad quos &c. salt'm. Sciatis q'd nos [&c.] dedimus [&c.] Egidio Keylwey & Will'mo Leonard [&c.] totum illud mesuagiu' [&c.] in Taunton nup' cantar' s'ce Trinitatis in Taunton dudum spectan' [&c.] Ac totam illam nup' Capellam in p'ochia s'ci Jacobi iuxta Taunton in Com' n'ro Som's' cum suis p'tin' nup' spectan' hospit'li seu domui Elimosinarie de Westmonketon in d'co Com' Som's' ac om'ia muros plumbum campanas ferrum vitrum maerem' & lapides eidem nup' capelle spectan' & p'tinen' ac de in vel sup' eadem nup' Capella remanen' & existen' [&c.] cantar' no'is Jesu—s'ci Andree—alte crucis—b'te Marie— [&c.] In cuius rei &c. T R apud lieghes sc'do die Aprilis. P' ip'm Regem &c.

T. H.

Hestercombe.

BY THE REV. THOMAS HUGO, M.A., F.R.S.L., F.S.A., ETC.,
HONORARY MEMBER.

[*Read, in part, on the lawn at Hestercombe, on Wednesday,
11th September, 1872.*]



IF there be a name which brings with its very sound all kinds of pleasurable thoughts to the minds of Tauntonians, that name is Hestercombe. Find such a man wherever you will,—“From Scots to Wight, from Mount to Dover Strand,”—and he shall respond to your enthusiastic praise, and agree with you in your happy

memories, of dreamy, stately, solemn, dear, delightful, incomparable Hestercombe. Nature and art have, I will not say contended, but, agreed to act in unison, towards the perfection of its beauty. The house itself, where relics of the various fashions in which Englishmen have built their homes from the days of the third Edward to the middle of the last century can be noticed and contrasted ; the old hall with its minstrels’ gallery, where the double-handed sword which a gallant

knight brought to his neighbouring hearth in company, as the legend goes, with a royal captive still hangs in witness of his chivalry ; the dark, deep, silent woods, where nevertheless when the shadows are lengthening at eventide the rooks make lordly music ; the solemn avenues, and winding walks by ponds—of unknown and mysterious depth, which the most venturesome among us never dared to endeavour to explore—and dashing cascade, and shady arbours or memorial urn, where some classical quotation reveals alike the scholarship and the good taste of a former master ; and, last though by no means least, the matchless views of the fair vale which open from many a point within the higher limits of the domain—all unite in producing a whole to which the western portion of England, and that the loveliest, affords no superior, and but most rarely an equal, attractiveness. He who can call Hestercombe his home may assert, and no man will contradict his word, that he occupies at least one of the fairest parts even of that “smiling summer field” which may hold its own against all rivals throughout the length and breadth of our English world.

The place is associated in the minds of many of us with still further charm—memories of holiday rambles in early days of boyhood, when it was a favourite haunt of those whom the varied avocations of after life have since dispersed far and wide, as well as of occasional visits when the wanderers have returned to the old scenes of enjoyment, and lived over again the hours which the well-remembered objects have vividly recalled. And Hestercombe is able to do this in a far greater degree than most other localities. It has ever had a strange fascination and singular influence on those who have known it best—an almost indescribable atmosphere peculiarly its own. It has been in the recol-

lection of most of us a shadowy thing of the past rather than a reality of the living and breathing present. For more than half a century little has been done even to preserve what was once so regularly ordered and so exactly arranged. The woods have about them a primeval aspect, the lawns are overgrown with varied vegetation, the paths where a hundred years ago the feet of fair ladies wandered amid a very paradise of delights are now in some places all but obliterated, while those which are tended the best have entirely lost the evidences of that courtly care which was once so lavishly and lovingly expended on them. The visitor has oftentimes to gaze on landscape beauties through an umbrageous screen which all but hides them from his view, and to investigate the works of its old possessors, the urn or the alcove, through a labyrinth of thicket, where his foot is impeded at every step, and the air is dense with sylvan odours and heavy with the atmosphere of the forest and its verdure. Many of its vistas and winding glades have indeed a weird aspect, and transport us to old regions of nursery romance where a spot which had not been visited for long generations was once more traversed by wayfaring feet and revealed to the gaze of living men. Such, in all its mystic, dreamy, proud, and stately beauty, is the Hestercombe of to-day.

But to us there is yet another point of interest to which, except by a hint of the antiquity of the house, I have not yet adverted. The place has a long and interesting history. It is, of course, the history but of a private estate. Happily it was the site neither of Abbey nor of Priory, whose alienation brought down the doom which the sin of sacrilege never fails to attract. The larger part of its annals necessarily consists but of a list of its successive possessors ; but there are various episodes in it,

never until now presented to the modern reader, which most agreeably savour of mediæval usage, and bring it within the circuit of the all-engrossing charm of which that portion of our national history is full. It is to these, of which too many of our modern historians have had little or no knowledge, for which I would specially bespeak my reader's attention.

The first notice that we possess of the place is that it was parcel of the lands of the Abbey of Glastonbury. So it was in the time of Edward the Confessor. Four tenants held it under the Abbey, with the ordinary services, as presently related. Norman William took it from the monks and gave it to the Bishop of Coutances, in whose hands it was at the period of the Domesday Survey. It is thus described in that venerable Record :—

“The same Bishop holds Hasecumbe, and William of him. Four Thaners held it in the time of King Edward, and gelded for two hides and three virgates of land. The arable is three carucates. There are two carucates in the demesne, with one bondman and four villeins and eight cottagers with two ploughs. There are there thirty-one acres of meadow, and ten acres of underwood. It was worth forty shillings, now fifty shillings.”*

To this account, by which it would appear that the estate consisted of between five and six hundred acres of land of various denominations, the Exon Domesday gives the name of the sub-tenant as William de Moncells, and adds, after its manner, that at the time of the Survey there were on the property ten “beasts,” twenty swine, and one hundred and forty-three sheep.†

* Domesday, fol. 87 b. Terra Ep̃i Constant.

† Exon Domesday, fol. 137.

From this William de Moncells the place appears to have passed soon afterwards to the family of Fluri, a well-known member of which, in the early part of the twelfth century, Hugh de Fluri, gave twenty acres here to the infant Priory of Taunton.*

How long the family of Fluri, which, I may add, was one of great importance, and gave its distinguishing affix to Combe-Flory, Ninehead-Flory, Leigh-Flory, and Withiel-Flory, retained possession of lands in this locality we have no certain means of determining. But on the octave of the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin, in the 6th year of Henry III., or the 9th of February, 1222, Juliana la Pottere remitted and claim-quitted a virgate of land with appurtenances in Hester-cumbe to Geoffrey de Wudeford. For this remission Geoffrey gave Juliana four marcs of silver.† And, further, in the three weeks after the feast of S. John Baptist, in the 40th year of the same reign, or from the 24th of June to the 14th of July, 1256, certain land in the same neighbourhood was leased by William Fitz William to William de Camera for the term of his life, and to revert after his decease to the previous owner, with a caveat against the sale, mortgage, or any other way of alienation of the property.‡

These notices, fragmentary as they are and referring to out-lying portions only of the estate, must nevertheless suffice the reader, until we arrive at the period when we find the fair domain on which we are employed in regular possession of the knightly family of De Meryet, who held it of the Bishop of Winchester by knight service, as

* Cart. 8 Edw. III. n. 12. mm. 5, 6. *per inspec.*

† Ped. Fin. Somers. 6 Hen. III. No. 52.

‡ Ped. Fin. Somers. 28-40 Hen. III. No. 123.

of his manor of Taunton. The family of De Meryet is a difficult one to trace, owing to the multiplicity of its branches and similarity of names ; but by the aid of inquiries, fines, and similar documents I will endeavour to throw what light I may on the Hestercombe line of it. I am acquainted with some curious episodes in the history of several of its earlier members, but to enter into these would take us too far from the limits to which I am restricted.

John de Meriet—son of John de Meriet, who died 13 Edward I., 1285, and an assignment of dower in favour of whose widow, amounting after all deductions to *xlviijⁱⁱ xiiij^s iiij^d ob. q.* (£48 14s. 4³/₄d.), made in the month of May ensuing, is annexed to the Claus Roll of that year,*—the first of the family that I have found connected with Hestercombe, was a party with John de Hestercumbe to a final concord by which he obtained from the latter eight acres of arable land and five acres of meadow with appurtenances in Hestercumbe, together with one hundred shillings of yearly rent from the same vill, paid by Gregory de Welyngton and his heirs from all the tenements therein heretofore held by John de Hestercumb aforesaid. The instrument was dated at Westminster on the quindisme of Easter, 21 Edward I., or the 12th of April, 1293. It is added that John de Meriet gave to John of Hestercumbe for the aforesaid recognizance a sparrow-hawk, that the concord was passed in the presence and with the agreement of the aforesaid Gregory, and that he did fealty to the new owner in the same court.†

This John de Meryet must have died soon after the

* Rot. Claus. 13 Edw. I. m. 8, *in ced.* There was more in connexion with this in the illegible Inq. p.m. 30 Edw. I. n. 147.

† Ped. Fin. Somers. 21–35 Edw. I. n. 1. Appendix, No. I.

date of the last transaction, for he left behind him a son,

John, who was a minor at the time of his father's decease, and succeeded to his estates in the year 1297. He was born at Meryet (an additional proof, it may be, that his father was the first of the family who owned Hestercombe, the old domain from which they took their cognomen), on the Thursday in Holy Week, in the fourth year of Edward I., which is coincident with the 2nd of April, 1276. I gain these facts from a most interesting "Proof of Age," which I have found on the Coram Rege Roll of Trinity Term in the 25th year of Edward I.* As the information is so curious, and the mode of its transmission so little understood by modern readers, as well as affording a very graphic illustration of the period to which, as I have already said, I am desirous of directing special attention, I shall be doing a service to a student of the medieval history of Hestercombe by entering into some details.

This John, son of John de Meriet, was born at the time and place above stated. He lost his father while yet a minor, and his guardians were Felicia, the wife of William de Shorteford, and, first, Robert Burnell, Bishop of Bath and Wells, and on his death the Bishop of Ely. In the year 1297 he became of age, and in order to enable him to obtain livery of his estates out of the hands of his guardians the following "Proof of Age" was returned. It was obtained by inquest, in answer to a writ issued by the King and addressed to the eschaetor, who proceeded to the investigation with all the care which the subject required.

The following witnesses and their depositions were abun-

* Plac. Coram Rege, Trin. 25 Edw. I. No. 152. rot. iij.

dantly sufficient for the purpose, and it requires but a very slight exercise of the imagination to help us to a vivid picture of an old Somersetshire gathering.

Richard de Loveny, of the age of forty years and upwards, examined on oath, deposed that John, the son of John de Meriet, was of the age of twenty-one years at Easter last past, and further that he was born at Meriet, and baptised in the parish Church on Easter Even, in the fourth year of the present King. Being further asked how he could remember the fact after so long a time since that of its occurrence, the witness deposed that he was then in possession of certain land by the gift of his father in the vill of Lopene, distant not more than half a mile from Meriet; that the gift was made to him in the third year of the King; that he was then at Lopene, where immediately after the birth of the said John the rumour reached him; that the said John was born on the Thursday before Easter, and was afterwards baptised on Easter Even by Henry, the vicar of Suthpederton; that Sir Gilbert de Knouyll was one of his god-fathers, and Lady Albreda de Mohun his god-mother; and further that the land aforesaid was given him at Hockedey, in the third year aforesaid, and that he held it to the eighth year of the King's reign, &c.

Thomas de la More, of sixty years of age, deposed to the facts of the birth and baptism; and, further, that Hugh de la More his father died on the Tuesday next before the birth of the said John, at la More in the parish of Crukern, not distant more than half a mile from Meriet; that he was invited to the feast when the mother of the aforesaid John was Churched, but was not present at the same by reason of his being occupied by some business connected with his father's will.

John de Lambrok, of the age of forty years and upwards, deposed in like manner ; and in reply to further questions added that Ela, the mother of the said John, was Churched on the Thursday next after the month of Easter next after the birth of the aforesaid John [7 May, 1276]. Also that Nicholas his father was invited to the Churching feast, and was present thereat, and he himself with him.

Hugh de Lopeneford, of sixty years of age and upwards, deposed similarly ; and added that he was living at the time of the aforesaid birth and baptism with the father of John at Meriete, and for five years next ensuing ; that he bought certain land of Walter de Ffurneus, and that he is assured of the time by the date on the conveyance of the aforesaid land which is now in his possession.

Thomas de la Forde of Chynnok Aumarle, of the age of forty years, resident a mile from Meryete. Agreed with the previous witnesses, and further that he was present at the Churching feast, and that he has a son, John by name, yet living, who was born in the week next after Easter, in the fourth year of the King.

Henry de Leghe of Crukerne, of the age of forty years and upwards, resident a mile from Meryete. Agreed as to the age, birth, baptism, and other circumstances, with Richard de Loveny first sworn. Added that he was present on the Thursday next after the month of Easter in the third [sic] year of the King, at the Churching feast ; and that a little before the lady was Churched his own wife Alice died, about the feast of the Holy Cross [3 May] in the month of May, now twenty-one years past and upwards, by which he well knows of the age aforesaid.

Hugh de Brugg, of forty years of age, resident a mile from Meryet. Agreed with those already sworn as to

age, &c., and added that he was present at the Churching feast, and remembers the time because a little afterwards in the same year he espoused Avice his wife still surviving.

John de Esse of Henle, living a mile and a half from Meryet, of the age of thirty-seven years. Agreed with the rest, and added, as a reason for his recollection, that in the same year he was in attendance on one Nicholas Frye of Crukern, and with the wife of the said Nicholas, his mistress, went to the Churching feast, on the day and year deposed to by the first witness; and that he specially remembered the time because in the same year he espoused one Isolda his wife, who was afterwards separated from him by divorce, and who was still living.

Mathew de Esse of Cudeworth, two miles from Meriet, of the age of thirty-eight years and upwards. Agreed as to age, birth, baptism, &c., with those already sworn. When asked, &c., deposed that in the same year about fifteen days afterwards he espoused Joan his wife, daughter of Sir Alan de Ffurneaus, knt., whom for some time previously he tenderly loved. From this he well knew and was sure, &c.*

Robert de Wayford of Crukern, a mile from Meryet, of fifty years of age and upwards. Agreed with the former as to age, &c. Added that he had a son by name Richard, still living, who was born in the same year, and in the same week, on the Tuesday before the Thursday on which the said John was born.

William de Wermewell of Neuton, five miles from Meriete, of fifty years of age. Agreed with the rest as to age, &c. Added that in the same year on the feast

* I give the text of this deposition in Appendix, No. II., as a specimen of the mode in which they appear in the original Record.

of S. Barnabas, Ap. [11th June] he bought his land of Neueton, in the County of Somerset, which he yet holds.

Hamund Planaz of Cheselbergh, a mile from Meryet, of forty years of age and upwards, agreed with the rest as to age, &c. Added that his ancestors were of the County of Surrey, of the vill of Taleworth by Kyngeston, and that in the aforesaid year, the fourth of the present King, he left his home and came to Cheselbergh that he might there serve one John de Planaz, his uncle, then parson of the church of Chiselberwe, twenty-one years ago at the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Virgin [2 Feb.], and that there by common report he heard and knew of the age of the aforesaid John.

All this was considered sufficient proof, and, as it appeared from his personal appearance that he was of full age, it was ordered that the said John should have seisin of his lands and tenements thus by heirship belonging to him.*

This John, as we have seen, succeeded to his lands after the Proof above recited in the year 1297. He was soon to understand that property brings its responsibilities and duties. For in answer to a writ dated, witness the King, at Westminster, 14th January, 28 Edward I., 1299-1300, he is included in the list of the King's tenants summoned to do service against the Scots.† These troubles, however, were soon over, for it was doubtless the same John and Elizabeth his wife, between whom and Bartholomew Savage a final concord respecting the manors of Hester-cumbe and Legh Fflory was passed at Westminster in the octaves of S. John Baptist in the 34th year of

* Plac. Coram Rege, 25 Edw. I. Term Trin. No. 152. rot. iij.

† MS. Harl. 1192. f. 5 b.

Edward I.* or, in other words, between the 24th of June and the 1st of July, 1306. To the same John, in 1311, William de Ashtone, son of John de Ashtone, surrendered all right in lands, services, &c., in Ashton near Bristol, and in the manor and advowson of Est Capelonde.† A similar process issued between the same John de Meryet, who is expressly styled “of Hestercombe,” and William le Veil and Dionysia his wife, concerning one messuage, ten acres of bosc, and a moiety of one virgate of arable land, with appurtenances, in Asshton, near Bristol. By these instruments the lord of Hestercombe became the owner of lands with which the family was long associated. For this recognizance John gave William and Dionysia one hundred shillings of silver. The date of the last transaction was the morrow of S. Martin, in the sixth year of Edward II., or the 12th of November, 1312.‡

Sir John de Meriet lost his first wife, whose name, it will be perceived, is omitted in the document just referred to, in or before the year 1312; and it was doubtless to him that the entry in Bishop Drokenesford’s register refers, which I have quoted in my History of Cannington Priory, to the effect that he had received absolution, dated the 28th March, 1314, from a sentence of excommunication which had been passed on him for having caused the heart of his deceased wife to be taken from her corpse, a practice to which, judging from the instances there referred to, the family was addicted, and had been ordered to inter it with the body from which it had been removed.|| It was the Nun’s heart, “le quer dame

* Ped. Fin. Somers. 21-35 Edw. I. n. 169.

† From an original deed in the Surrenden Collection.

‡ Ped. Fin. Somers. 1-6 Edw. II. n. 138.

|| Reg. Drok. f. lxvij b.

Maud de Merriete Nonayne de Cannyntune,"—the reader will hardly fail to remember,—of the resting-place of which the beautiful memorial yet remains in the Church of Combe Flory.*

A member of the family had founded a Chantry in a Chapel dedicated to the Blessed Virgin adjoining to this Church of Combe-Flory, and on the iij. Non. February, the 3rd of that month, 1313, a commission was issued by the Bishop to induct John de Ammyngford, chaplain, into corporal possession of the same.†

Between three and four months after the date of the absolution above-mentioned, the same John was witness, together with John de Mo[h]un, Andrew Loterel, Hugh de Poppeham, William de Wyggeber, Matthew de Forneux, Matthew de Clyvedon, Gilbert de Bere, Knts. ; Walter le Lyf, Richard de Loveney, Ralph le Fitzurs, John atte Zurde, Matthew de Coker, "and others," to an agreement between John de Drokenesford, Bp. of Bath and Wells, and John de Membury, lord of the manor of West Bagborough, concerning the bounds of that and the manor of Bishop's Lydeard. It was made on the Tuesday next after the feast of the Translation of S. Thomas the Martyr, in the 8th year of Edward II., which is coincident with the 9th of July, 1314.‡

Legal proceedings connected with common of pasture in West Bagborough appear by this award to have been

* Mediæval Nunneries of Somerset. Cannington Priory, p. 11.

† Reg. Drok. fol. cxlviii.

‡ Reg. Well. I. ff. 145 *b*, 146. I possess a very fine contemporary copy of this instrument, which I purchased at the sale of the celebrated Surrenden Collection in 1863, and which has enabled me to fix the exact date of the transaction. That in the Wells Register has been erased and another substituted, but proved to be inaccurate by the date of the confirmation of the Dean and Chapter with which the document concludes.

quashed, as at the assizes held at Taunton, on the Friday next after the feast of S. Giles, 8 Edward II., the 6th of September, 1314, the plaintiff did not appear, and the Bishop and his party left the court “sine die.”*

On the viii. of the Kalends of August, the 25th of July, 1316, an event is recorded to have happened which may have a livelier interest for the student of Hestercombe history than those which relate to the more distant possessions of the family of the owners. The lord of Hestercombe had built a chapel for his household on account of the distance between his manor-house and the parish church at Kingston, and Bishop John de Drokenesford granted at Wyvelescumb on the day above-named, and for the afore-said reason, his special licence for the celebration of mass and other Divine offices.†

This chapel stood at the west of the mansion, and appears to have consisted of a nave and chancel, with a south porch, and a bell turret on the west gable. As it will be seen, it was repaired and ornamented in the latter part of the following century, but was needlessly removed in a long subsequent age which appreciated little and understood less the precious remains which it presumed in some cases to mutilate and in others to destroy.

I have not yet arrived at the end of my notices of this old Hestercombe worthy. On the 9th of July, 1319, at York, King Edward II., at the instance of his beloved cousin, Thomas, Earl of Lancaster, granted to John de Meryet and his heirs for ever a charter of free warren in all their demesne lands of Hestercoumbe, Legheflory, Estcapelond, Coumbefflory, and Ashton by Bristoll, those

* Plac. de Jur. et Assis. 8 Edw. I. $\left. \begin{array}{c} N \\ 2 \\ 16 \end{array} \right\} 1. \text{ rot. } 7.$

† Reg. Drok. f. lxxxxvij. Appendix, No. III.

lands not being within the bounds of any of the royal forests. No man was to enter them in pursuit of game, without the licence of the aforesaid John or his heirs, on pain of forfeiture of ten pounds. The witnesses of the grant were the Abp. of York, the Bishop of Ely, the Earl of Richmond, Richard de Grey, Hugh de Audele, senr., and others.*

On the xvii. Kal. Apr., the 6th of March, 1323, the Bishop of Bath and Wells granted letters dimissory to Thomas Alnard, of Hesccecomb (qu. Hestercombe?), acolyte, for the order of subdeacon from any Catholic bishop.†

The next notice that I can furnish of Sir John de Meryet is a very curious and interesting one. He had married a second time, and on Wednesday after Mid-lent Sunday in the 19th year of Edward II., which is coincident with the 5th of March, 1326, Bishop John de Drokenesford addressed a certificate to the viscounts, bailiffs, ministers, &c., of Hugh de Dispensar, intimating by those presents, after the customary salutations, that, inasmuch as he believed it to be a pious and meritorious act to bear witness to truth, lest men should waver in doubt, and so through their error fall into danger, he was happy to certify that the Lady Elizabeth Paynel, wife of Sir John de Meryet, knight, was living and well with her husband on the day of his writing, the Wednesday next after the Sunday on which is sung *Lætare Jerusalem*, in the manor of the aforesaid John of Hestrecombe.‡ He writes from his neighbouring manor of Wyvelescumb, and the style of his communication naturally leads us to infer that there was much more than official courtesy between the good Bishop

* Rot. Cart. 13 Edw. II. n. 35. Appendix, No. IV.

† Reg. Drok. f. ccxvij b.

‡ Reg. Drok. f. ccxlviiij b. Appendix, No. V.

and the worshipful pair to whose life and health he thus pleasantly bears witness.

This agreeable scene is soon changed. The year afterwards, the 1st of Edward III., 1327, Sir John de Meryet was gathered to his fathers. After an inquisition then taken, a verdict was returned that he died possessed—among other properties, Assheton, Capelond, &c.—of certain lands and a certain tenement in Hestercombe, which he held by knight service of the Bishop of Winchester as of his manor of Taunton, and that it was worth *xli* per annum.* He also left behind him a son under age,

John de Meryet, in the wardship, I presume, of Sir John de Acton, who by reason of his ward's minority presented a clerk named Geoffrey to the church of Capelonde, *xij* Kal. of July, the 20th June, 1328.†

Of the date of the death of this John de Meryet I am ignorant, but he was succeeded by

Walter de Meryet. This Walter was he who in the year 1341 attempted to found another Religious House in Taunton for a community of Carmelites, ordinarily called Whitefriars, all the known particulars of which are related in my History of Taunton Priory.‡ For some unexplained cause the endeavour was fruitless, and the lands with which he had intended to endow his foundation remained in his own hands to the time of his decease. He died on the 18th of May, 1345, without issue. By a writ dated at Westminster, the 6th of June, 19 Edward III., a jury was assembled which returned a verdict that at the time of his death he was seised of the manors of

* MS. Harl. 4120. p. 103.

† Reg. Drok. f. cclxxj. MS. Harl. 4120. p. 122.

‡ Inq. ad q.d. 15 Edw. III. (2 ns.) n. 58. Pat. 15 Edw. III. p. 2. m. 44.

Combe Florey and Hestercombe, and of nineteen acres of meadow land in Taunton, called Coke's Mede, to which reference was just now made, &c.; and further that

Walter, the cousin of the deceased Walter, was his heir, and of the age of thirty years and upwards.*

This Walter also died without issue, and was succeeded by his nephew,

Simon de Meryet, son of John, brother of Walter. At his presentation the Bishop admitted, viij. Id. Feb., the 6th of that month, 1348, John Stille, priest, to the chantry in the chapel of Blessed Mary by the church of Combe Flory;† at the presentation of the same Simon de Meryet, expressly styled in the Register "his beloved son," "dilecti sui filii"—a very unusual mode of recording such transactions—ix. Kal. Apr., 24th of March, 1350, Bartholomew de la Ryxyn, to the same chantry;‡ and also to the same, and at the presentation of the same, William Assheleigh, chaplain, on the iv. Kal. Sept., the 29th of August, 1351.||

To the same Sir Simon de Meryet Bishop Ralph de Salopia on the 17th of March, 1354-5, at Wyvelescumb, granted his licence for the celebration of masses and other Divine offices in his chapel of Hestercombe. The licence was to last from that date until the following Michaelmas.§

It may strike the reader as a thing unaccountable that, with the church of Cheddon Fitzpaine so close to Hestercombe, and to which access was so convenient at all times, and under all circumstances, there could be any necessity for a chapel at the manor house, or for the licences which we have seen to authorise its use. The simple explana-

* Inq. p.m. 19 Edw. III. (1 ns.) n. 55.

† Reg. Rad. f. cccxxxvj b.

‡ Ib. f. ccclxxxj.

|| Ib. f. ccclxxxvij.

§ Ib. f. cccxxxij.

tion of this difficulty lies in the fact that Hestercombe is not in the parish of Cheddon, but of Kingston, and it was the strict rule of mediæval times that everyone should resort for the Sacraments to his Parish Church. The nearer neighbourhood, and consequently greater ease of access, was not allowed to avail those who, in despite of their parish priest, should presume to betake themselves to other churches for the Divine offices. This state of things is hardly intelligible to ourselves, who, without molestation if not without remark, attend what church we will, or, if we will have it so, no church at all. As much as any, perhaps, is the writer himself an instance of the change, in whose congregation may be found persons from half a dozen parishes, and a score or more of ecclesiastical districts. This, of course, is even now far more the case with urban or suburban than with country parishes of small populations. But in ancient times the rule was as I have stated, and was rigidly enforced. I will offer in proof an example or two from the contemporary records of this very diocese. On the xj. Kal. Oct., the 21st of September, 1351, not four years before the date of this second licence in behalf of the chapel of Hestercombe, the same Bishop Ralph addressed a missive from Banewell to William atte Stone, the vicar of Taunton, reminding him that, according to the canonical statutes, people belonging to one parish are not to be admitted to the Sacraments in the churches of other parishes, especially on Sundays and Festivals; and drawing his attention to the fact that certain of the parishioners of Monketon, in contempt of their own parish church, were in the habit of frequenting that of Taunton on such days, whereof complaint had been made to him by John of Bath, the rector of Monketon. We who know the country have no difficulty in understanding the

cause of this breach of duty on the part of the Monkton parishioners. The distance was long, and the roads were bad—sometimes impassable from the inundations. All this, however, availed nothing with the administrator of the law. He, therefore, positively orders and enjoins the vicar that on all such days, before he, or any one by his authority, proceed to the celebration of mass, he enquire if any one from another parish, in contempt of his own priest, presume to be present, and, if he shall find any such, that he drive them out and compel them to return on pain of canonical censures, to be launched against them by his authority. And, further, that he should carefully furnish him or his commissary with an exact account of what he should do in the matter, together with the names and surnames of any who should resist this order, in a formal letter under his authentic seal.* Even-handed justice was the rule of those times, and the same authority which had vindicated the prerogative of the Monkton rector soon asserted against him the equal rights of a neighbouring incumbent. On the ix. Kal. Sept., the 24th of August, 1362, the same bishop wrote from Wyvelescumb to the rector of Monkton, inhibiting him, under pain of the greater excommunication, from meddling with the tithes, great or small, or oblations pertaining to the Church of Crich ; and, also, forbidding under the same penalty all chaplains from presuming to administer the sacraments or sacramentals to the parishioners of Crich, and the said parishioners from receiving the sacraments from such without his special licence. If he found any of the parties rebellious, he was to inform him of their names and surnames.†

* Reg. Rad. f. ccclxxxj b. Appendix, No. VI.

† Reg. Rad. in Drok. f. celxxxiiij.

Hence the necessity for the chapel of Hestercombe, and for the episcopal licence for its due employment.

Simon de Meryet, in favour of whom the licence was granted which has been the subject of this digression, married Margery, whose name I find associated with his in a fine passed at Westminster, in the octaves of S. Hilary, 30 Edward III., from the 13th to the 20th January, 1356-7, between them and John Ruspyn, parson of the church of Wydecombe, in respect of the manors of Combe flory and Heystercombe, with appurtenances, except two acres of arable land in Heystercombe, and of the advowson of the chantry at the altar of the Blessed Virgin in the church of Combe flory. It was agreed that the manors and advowson aforesaid should be held by Simon and Margery and their heirs male, and that in default of such they should go to the heirs male of Simon, and in default to Thomas, son of Sir John Tryvet, Knt., and Alice his wife.*

John de Meryet succeeded Simon soon after the last-named date. Between him and Sir Edmund de Arondell, Knt., John Benyn, John Stokes, and others, a final concord was passed at Westminster, in the octaves of S. Michael, 34 Edward III., 30 Sept.—6 Oct. 1360, concerning the manors of Dondene, Brodemershton, Meriet, Great Lopene, Great Stratton, Hestercombe, Wyke, and Combeflory.† He died in 1369. His son, another

John de Meryet, the last of the name who owned Hestercombe, was a party with Henry Molyns, John Benyn, and John Stokes to a final concord respecting the same manors and other property in the 47th year of Edward III., 1374.‡ He leased a messuage, a mill, and a carucate of land at

* Ped. Fin. Somers. 29-38 Edw. III. n. 11.

† Ped. Fin. Somers. 39-51 Edw. III. n. 88.

‡ MS. Lansd. 306, p. 152.

Meriet to John Canon, of Leghe (?—a great part of the MS. is illegible,) and Isolda, his wife, at Croukern, on Saturday next after the feast of the Purification (?) of the Blessed Virgin, 47 Edw. III., the 4th of February, (?) 1374, terminable at the death of the lessee.* The same John excepted Combeflory and Hestercombe from a deed of feoffment of his estate, dated 48 Edward III., 1374.† He was summoned to parliament in 1379, and died in 1391,‡ leaving an only child

Elizabeth. This lady married John la Warre, son, I believe, of the hero of Poitiers, who in her right became the possessor of Hestercombe, and from whom for a very long period descended the successive owners of this interesting place. It would appear, however, from the final concords, that the family of Warre was mixed up with various transactions connected with the estate of Hestercombe some time before the death of the last de Meryet. In the years 1375 and 1390, for example, a William, son of John Warre, was a party in legal proceedings affecting the ownership of the manors of Hestercombe and Combeflory.||

Of most of the Warres I have but little to add beside the mention of their names, the families into which they married, and the dates of their several successions to the estate. This can hardly be called the History of Hestercombe in the sense in which I have endeavoured to present it to the reader, though here and there some particulars are narrated which are strictly in order as minutely illustrative of the place and neighbourhood.

* Inq. p.m. 47 Edw. III. (2 nos.) n. 84.

† Collinson, from Sir W. Pole's MS. p. 545.

‡ Add. MS. B.M. 5937, f. 50 b.

|| Ped. Fin. Somers. 1-11 Ric. II. n. 27. 12-20 Ric. II. n. 14.

It hardly admits of conjecture, in the first place, that the stately tomb, which is so great an ornament of the church of Kingston, and where so many of the race lie buried, was erected in the time of the John la Warre, husband of Elizabeth de Meryet, the first of his family who was master of Hestercombe. He was here during the last ten years of the fourteenth century, the period to which the tomb must be referred.

Richard la Warre, their son, married Joan, daughter and heir of John Atwood. Some of the windows of the house appear to be of this period.

John Warre, son of this Richard Warre, married Joan, daughter of John Combe, of Dalwood, in the county of Dorset. He was High Sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, 2 Henry V., 1414, and 8 Henry VI., 1429.

His son, Robert Warre, married Christina, sister of Sir Richard Hankford, of Annery, in the county of Devon. He was sheriff of Somerset and Dorset, 36 Henry VI., 1457. He made his will on the 7th of July, 1465, 5 Edward IV., the day before his death, wherein he describes himself as resident in the parish of Kyngeston, of sane mind and good memory, but weak and at the point of death. He bequeaths his soul to Almighty God, and his body to be buried in the conventual Church of the Monastery of Athelney. He leaves to Cristina his wife a silver ewer and basin ; to his son Richard a silver ewer and basin ; to Richard Saleway, vicar of Kyngeston, *vj^s viij^d* for tithes forgotten ; to Giles, clerk there, *xx^d* ; to Andrew Godde his gown of "Cremesyn" furred with sable ; to Margaret, wife of the said Andrew, a gown of sky-colour ; to Robert Stevyns a gown of "Musterdevilys ;"*

* A kind of grey woollen cloth, more frequently spelt "Mustrede-villians," or "Mustard-villars."

to John Clauyshay a gown of green colour ; to Robert, then Abbot of Athelney, and his convent a piece of cloth of gold to make a vestment, to pray for his soul and for the souls of all the faithful departed. The rest of his property he leaves to his widow and son aforesaid, whom he makes and appoints his executors, and orders, after his debts are paid, distribution to be made for the good of his soul at their discretion and judgment. The witnesses were Richard Glene, Prior of Taunton ; John Byssshop, Esq.,* and Richard Saleway, chaplain. The will was proved and administration granted at Lambeth, on the 5th of the following August.†

In answer to a writ directed to the king's eschaetor, at Westminster, the 26th of July, 1465, the jurors returned a verdict at Briggewater, on the 30th of the following October, which communicates a more than ordinary amount of information on the subject of their examination. The original which will well repay perusal will be found in the Appendix. They say that the aforesaid Robert Warre held no lands nor tenements of the king, but that Sir John Stourton, Knt., Robert Squybbe, Gilbert Wyke, Robert Colyngborn, Thomas Mocheldever, John Bysshup, and Thomas Warreyn were seised in his demesne as of fee of the manors of Hestercombe and Crafte Warre, with appurtenances, in the county of Somerset, and that thus seised they demised the aforesaid manors to John Warre, Esq., to be held by him for the term of his life, and after his decease to Robert Warre his son, then to Richard Warre his son, and his wife Joan, daughter of Sir John

* He was, I believe, the founder of the Chantry of S. Nicholas, sometimes called Bishop's Chantry, in the Church of Taunton S. Mary Magdalene.

† Reg. Godyn, Off. Prerog. ff. 73 b, 74. Appendix, No. VII.

Stourton, and their heirs. They quote various documents in illustration and support of their verdict, and add that the aforesaid manor of Hestercombe, with appurtenances, is held of William, Bishop of Winchester, but by what service the jurors are ignorant; that the manor is worth in all issues beyond reprises ten marcs a year; that the manor of Crafte Warre is held of Sir William Poulet, Knt., and is of the yearly value of four marcs; that the said Robert died on the 8th of July last past, 1465, and that Richard Warre, Esq., is his son and heir, and of the age of forty years and upwards.*

Richard, married as we have seen to the daughter of Sir J. Stourton, succeeded. Collinson says that he repaired the chapel of Hestercombe, and gives a very interesting description of the armorial bearings and inscription which ornamented the windows of that edifice.† The latter, "*Orate pro anima Roberti Warre, armigeri, Domini de Hestercombe,*" was on the east window, and was doubtless placed there soon after his father's death. The armorial bearings were as late as the seventeenth century. For this account, I repeat, I am indebted to Collinson, and I cannot help adding that although the Historian of Somerset has been of little or no assistance to me hitherto, he is, as usual, admirable in his genealogical sketch of the subsequent possessors.‡ Somersetshire antiquaries, particularly those of them who select the history of the olden families for their special study, are under the greatest obligations to this painstaking, careful, and generally accurate writer. His chief defect is his small

* Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. IV. n. 17. MS. Harl. 4120. p. 378. Appendix, No. VIII. MS. Harl. 1385, fol. 9. MS. Harl. 1559, fol. 54 b.^v Add. MS. B.M. 14,315. p. 134.

† Hist. of Somerset, vol. III. pp. 260, 261.

‡ Hist. of Somerset, vol. III. pp. 259-263.

acquaintance with ecclesiastical records and antiquities in general, and the meagre details which he consequently furnishes of the Religious Houses and early parochial annals. But his industrious researches in family history, and the intelligent use which he made of the materials in his possession are worthy of all praise. His information in the present case was no doubt derived either from the then owner of Hestercombe, Mr. Coplestone Warre Bampfylde, or from the papers of a gentleman of the neighbourhood, the learned Mr. Palmer, of Fairfield, who took great interest in the antiquities of his county, to whose most valuable MSS. he enjoyed, by the kindness of Hugh Acland and John Acland, Esqrs., the permission of unlimited access—a favour of which he could well appreciate the value and utilize it to the best advantage.

Richard Warre died on the 25th of November, 22 Edward IV., 1482, without issue. From an inquest held at Heggbrugge, on Wednesday next before the feast of S. Luke the Evangelist, in the first year of Richard III., or the 15th of October, 1483, a verdict was returned that the Manor of Hestercombe, held of the Bishop of Winchester, was of the value beyond reprises of ix^{li} a year, that Richard Warre had deceased on the day aforesaid, that his cousin Richard Warre of Chippelegh, of fifteen years of age and upwards, was his heir, and that this Richard Warre was son of John Warre of Chippelegh, who was son of Robert Warre of Chippelegh, who was brother of John Warre of Hestercombe, who was father of Robert Warre, the father of the deceased Richard Warre.*

This Richard Warre of Chippelegh, and now of Hestercombe, was a prominent actor in the public events of his

* Inq. p.m. 22 Edw. IV. n. 37. MS. Harl. 4120. p. 403.

county. On the marriage of Prince Arthur, in 1501, he was created Knight of the Bath. On that occasion he occurs in a List of the residents of the county of Somerset, with the "valewes of their yearely Reuenews, & of y^e Certificate of all them, that shall bee made Knights of y^e Bathe." His income is there stated as "*Cli.*"* In 1530 he was a member of a commission, including Sir William Poulet, Sir Nicholas Wadham, and William Portman, Esq., appointed to examine into the lands of Cardinal Wolsey. Most of the older portions of the present mansion, of the time of Henry VII.,—the buttresses, especially, which supported the walls of the old hall, visible on either side of the entrance, with some square-headed windows in various parts of the house, are attributable to him. He married, first, Margaret, daughter of John Brookman, of Witham, in the county of Essex, and, secondly, Joan, daughter of Sir John Hody, chief baron of the exchequer.† He was sheriff of the county and knight of the shire in 1539, and died two years afterwards.

Thomas Warre, his son, married Joan, daughter of William Malet, of Corypole,‡ by whom he had issue six sons and three daughters, and died 34 Henry VIII., 1542, a year after the death of his father.

Richard Warre, his son, married Katharine, daughter of Sir Roger Blewit, of Holcombe Rogus.|| Some of the windows of the house are of his period. He died 44 Elizabeth, 1602.

Roger Warre, his son, married Eleanor, daughter of Sir John Popham, chief justice of the Queen's Bench,

* MS. Harl. 6166, fol. 101.

† MS. Harl. 1385, fol. 9. 1559, fol. 54 b. Add. MS. B. M. 14, 315, p. 134.

‡ Ibid.

|| Ibid.

and died 14 James I., 1616. He had issue twelve sons and two daughters.

Richard, his son, married a daughter of Thomas Saint Barbe, of White Parish, co. Wilts. He left two sons, Roger and Thomas.

Roger, the eldest, married Anne, daughter of Sir Thomas Wyndham, of Kentsford. By her he had one son and one daughter.

John, his son, married Unton, daughter of Sir Francis Hawley, bart., of Buckland Sororum, widow of John Malet, Esq., of Enmore, and mother of Elizabeth, Countess of Rochester. He received the honour of Knighthood from Charles II., represented the county in parliament in 1665, and died in 1669.

Francis, his only son, named after his maternal grandfather, was created a baronet on the 2nd of June, 1673. He married, first, Anne, daughter and heir of Robert Cuffe, of Creech St. Michael, and, secondly, Margaret, daughter of John Harbin, of the city of London, merchant. By his first wife he had a son who died before him, and by his second a son William, who died an infant, and a daughter Margaret, his heir. "He was colonel of the Taunton regiment, vice-admiral of Somersetshire and the port of Bristol, deputy lieutenant, and justice of the peace."* The greater portion of the present house is attributed to him. The point at which he may be supposed to have left it is that which is represented in the interesting view, dated 1700, which has hung for many generations in the Great Hall, and is the only authority extant for the house as it appeared at any time prior to the eighteenth century. Some modern critics have considered it open to suspicion on the ground that what is shown as a part of

* Collinson, *Hist. of Somerset*. vol. III. p. 262.

the front of the house is very similar to one of the present sides. There can be no doubt, however, that the general appearance of the mansion, with its chapel and numerous out-buildings, is given with strict fidelity. Of these latter, indeed, it is, I repeat, our only existing authority. The Chapel, which we here see in its green enclosure, had, as I have already stated, a nave, chancel, south porch, and bell turret on the west gable. The out-buildings, among which an orangery and a dove cot are conspicuous, are large and handsome. And the whole group, with its successive additions of various periods, gives us an admirable idea of a fine old country house, where plenty, if not peace, and abundance, if not quiet, were the invariable atmosphere.

Sir Francis Warre sat in the several Parliaments down to the year 1716 for Bridgwater and Taunton, and died 1st December, 1718, and was buried at Kingston. He left, as aforesaid, a daughter, Margaret, who married John Bampfylde, Esq., of the well-known Devonshire family of that name, and transferred the estate to her husband,

John Bampfylde. He was brother of Sir Coplestone Warwick Bampfylde, of Poltimore, in the county of Devon, bart., and represented in parliament the city of Exeter, and afterwards the county of Devon. He died 17 September, 1750, in the 60th year of his age, and was buried at Kingston.* He left a son,

Coplestone Warre Bampfylde. This gentleman, who can never be forgotten at Hestercombe, married Mary, daughter of Edward Knight, Esq., of Wolverly, in the county of Worcester. It is to him, as I am informed, that

* Collinson, *Hist. of Somerset*, vol. III. p. 263.

we are indebted for the last additions to the present mansion, and for the last endeavours to ornament the lovely domain by which it is surrounded. He was an elegant scholar, a true critic, and a man of most refined taste, and everything about this beautiful place breathes of each of these happy characteristics. You cannot ramble for an hour at Hestercombe without an exquisite sense that you are in the home of a thorough gentleman. While the lapse of years through which, as I said at the beginning of my Memoir, the hand of neglect has done nothing to arrest the progress of decay, has rather elicited its real beauties than, as the same treatment would have effected for most other localities, reduced or annihilated them. And he used nobly what he ornamented elegantly. For many years he made his charming abode as fair a picture as any that the county could exhibit of hospitality, liberality, and those open-handed virtues which constitute the *beau ideal* of an English country gentleman. Colonel Bampfylde, for among his other honours he was colonel of the Somerset Militia, a post especially at that time of considerable importance, had a true eye for the picturesque, was an admirable landscape gardener—a qualification to which we owe not a few of the peculiarities which here, and, it is said, in several other localities in the western counties, so captivate and delight us—and an artist of no small ability. I possess a drawing in water colours by him, a scene in the woods of his beloved Hestercombe, in the style of the draughtsmen of his age, and which might take rank and place with the works of most of them. The walls of the house bear many specimens of his proficiency in oil-painting, representations for the most part of old mythological subjects, among lovely landscapes, with most natural effects of light and shade, fine fore-

grounds and skilful perspective.* Besides all this he was well known in the literary world of the day. Collinson expresses his many obligations to him. It was to him that Christopher Anstey, of "New Bath Guide" celebrity, addressed in 1776 his clever satire on an English poem, "An Election Ball," illustrated by five etchings of his Hestercombe friend's execution, representing the characters in that veritable opus, and alludes to his beautiful home in the lines—

"Seu gelidum nemus, aut liquidi prope flumina Thoni,
"Arcadii invitant, quos incolis ipse, recessus."†

It was, also, in reference to the figure of a Witch, painted on one of the walls of a hermitage in the grounds, that Dr. Langhorne, then vicar of Blagdon, wrote—and not unhappily—

"O'er Bampfylde's woods, by various nature graced,
"A Witch presides; but then that Witch is Taste."‡

And it was in affectionate regard of other friends, Sir Charles K. Tynte, and Henry Hoare, of whom he says—

"Animæ quales neque candidiores
Terra tulit, neque queis me sit devinctior alter,"

* Since this was written all the contents of the house were dispersed by public auction, on the 8th, 9th, 10th, and 11th of October, 1872. On the first day, when the hall was full of the gentry of the county, so great was the interest excited, I secured several of Col. Bampfylde's productions, including "The Owl" and two fine landscapes in the Great Hall, together with some of the family portraits and two other pictures which visitors for many past years could hardly fail to notice and remember—a marvellous "Dead Game and Small Birds," by Van Elst, signed by the painter, in the "Column Room," and the View of "Hestercombe, 1700," in the Great Hall, to which reference has already been made. I have thus been enabled to give my reader an exact copy of this interesting relic, after a photograph from the original picture. The size of the original is six feet six inches, by three feet two and a half inches.

† Epist. Poet. Familiar. 4to. Bath. 1776. p. 33. Anstey's Works, 4to. Lond. 1808. pp. 383-417.

‡ Britton's Hist. and Antiq. of Bath Abbey Church, 4to. Lond. 1825. p. 112.

that in 1786 the scholarly owner of this lovely place erected the urn, now all but concealed by sombre foliage on every side, which forms the subject of the initial letter of this Memoir, and

DIU SPECTATÆ MEMOR AMICITIÆ
HANC URNAM SACRAM ESSE VOLUIT.

It might, indeed, be said of him that, whether in great things or small, on occasions or in pursuits where he could exhibit his rare and fascinating gifts, or among the multitude of common affairs which on every side called for his active oversight, "*nihil tetigit quod non ornavit*,"—so comprehensive was his knowledge, so full of charm his genius, and so refined and exquisite his taste. The only thing that I feel inclined to blame in his performances—so far as I am cognisant of them, and even about this I may be in error—is the destruction of the venerable Chapel, which for so many generations had been the sacred scene of the worship of his race. According to the old view already referred to it stood to the westward of the mansion, and I fear was thought to be in the way. The statement that it was ruinous can hardly be accurate. It was built at a period when English architecture was at its best, and, as we have also seen, had been restored and re-decorated in the latter part of the fifteenth century. But its real excellence, its Gothic peculiarities, opposed to the taste of his day, was the cause, I am sorry to think, of its unhappy removal.

Coplestone Warre Bampfylde died 21 Aug. 1791, and was buried in the family vault at Kingston on the 30th of the same month.* The property passed to his nephew,

John Tyndale, who took the surname of Warre, the son of his sister Margaretta, who married George Tyndale, of

* I am indebted for a knowledge of these facts to the kindness of the Rev. I. Sadler Gale, vicar of Kingston.

Bathford. He died in 1819, and was buried in the vault at Kingston, 27 May, in that year.* He was succeeded by his daughter,

Miss Elizabeth Maria Tyndale Warre, with whose personal appearance and eccentric habits many of my readers must have been familiar. She died 27 March, and was buried in the vault at Kingston, 3 April, 1872.*

There is no reason that I should, and some that I should not, enter into further details. Nor need I endeavour to draw a more minute picture of the household, as Somersetshire gave it age after age of the worthiest of her worthy men and fairest of her fair women. My reader must be less thoughtful than I take him to be, if the very names which have figured before us throughout the pages of this Memoir do not vividly suggest to him the drama of old English life, both in joy and in sorrow, of which these grey walls and shady avenues have been the scene, when events were distinguished by far more picturesque impressiveness, and men and women by far more individual and special characteristics, than are usual in our own days, and when society was accordingly more genuine, and reflective of the reality of its component parts to a far greater extent than it is now. I have but to add that of the last act in the history of the place I was myself with but few others a witness, and it was of a complexion strictly accordant with this all but universal change. Not in its wainscoted and gilded chambers, its overgrown and pathless gardens, or its silent and sombre woods—though these were acutely reflected in my mind's eye at the moment—but in the prosaic atmosphere of a London auction-room, I saw it pass† from the old race which had so long

* Also from the Rev. I. Sadler Gale.

† At the Mart, Tokenhouse Yard, on Tuesday, the 6th of August, 1872.

possessed and valued it to other hands—hands that I most earnestly trust will reverently and lovingly remember and respect it for what it has been as well as for what it is. As I take a last look on a place so dear to me, and think of those who for eight centuries held rule within its boundaries, I can but express the hope, which I do most fervently—and would give utterance to a better if I knew it—that the present and future lords of Hestercombe may unite in their own persons the combined excellencies of their predecessors, the magnificent lustre of the Fluris, the religion, philanthropy, and piety of the de Meryets, and the devotion, courage, prudence, and good taste of the Warres, with a not unhappier fortune on the one hand and as long a tenure on the other as was the lot of either.

THOMAS HUGO.

A P P E N D I X .

No. I.

[Ped. Fin. Somers. 21-35 Edw. I. No. 1.]

Hec est finalis concordia f'ca in Curia d'ni Regis apud Westm' a die Pasche in quindecim dies Anno Regni Regis Edwardi filij Regis Henr' vicesimo p'mo Coram Joh'ne de Metyngham, Rob'to de Hertford, Elia de Bekyngham & Petro Malore Justic' & alijs d'ni Regis fidelibus tunc ibi p'sentibus Int' Joh'nem de Meriet quer' & Joh'nem de Hestercumbe deforc'. de octo acris terre & quinqz acris p'ati cum p'tin' in Hestercumbe Et eciam de Centu' solidat' redditus cum p'tin' in eadem villa p'cipiendis p' annu' p' manus Gregor' de Welyngton & her' suor' de totis ten' que de p'd'co Joh'ne de Hestercumb prius tenuit in eadem villa. vnde pl'itum conuencōnis sum' fuit int' eos in eadem Curia. Scil't q'd p'd'cus Joh'nes de Hestercumb recogn' p'd'ca ten' cum p'tin' esse Jus ip'ius Joh'is de Meriet Habend' & Tenend' eide' Joh'i de Meriet & her' suis de Capit' d'nis feodi illius p' seruicia que ad illa ten' p'tinent imp'p'm. Et p't'ea idem Joh'nes de Hestercumb concessit p' se & her' suis q'd ip'i warant' eidem Joh'i de Meriet & her' suis p'd'ca ten' cum p'tin' cont^a om's ho'ies imp'p'm. Et p' hac recognicōne warant' fine & concordia, idem Joh'nes de Meriet dedit p'd'co Joh'i de Hestercumbe vnum sp'uar' sor' Et hec concordia f'ca fuit p'sente p'd'co Gregor' & eam concedente & fecit eidem Joh'i de Meriet fidelitatem in eadem Curia.

Somers'.

No. II.

[Plac. Coram Rege, 25 Edw. I. Term. Trin. rot. iij. No. 152.]

Matheus de Esse de Cudeworth distans a Meriet p' duas leuc'. etat'. xxxviij. annor' & ampl'. Jur' &c. De etat'. Nat'. Bapt'. & aliis c'cumstanc'. concordat cu' p'iur'. Requis' qual'r hoc scit & de lapsu dicti te'p'is. dicit q'd p' hoc, q'd eod'm anno, circit'. xv. dies postea disposauit Joh'am vx' suam fil' q'ndam d'ni Alani de ffurneus militis, quam antea p' tempus aliquod adamauit et p' hoc scit & bñ c'tus est de etate, &c. De aliis circumstanc' &c.

No. III.

[E Reg. Drok. f. lxxxxviij.]

M^d q' d'ns conc' licenc' sp'alem d'no J. de M'iet Militi vt possit h'ere cantar' i capella Man'ii sui de Hestrecūb p'pt' distanc' loci int' d'cm man'iu' & mat'ce' eccl'iam, s'b dat' apud Wyuelescūb. viij°. Kal'n Aug'ti. Anno d'ni. Milli'o. ccc^{mo}. xvj°. Cons' d'ni septio.

No. IV.

[Rot. Cart. 13 Edw. II. n. 35.]

P' Joh'e de M'iet R Archiep'is &c. salt'm. Sciatis nos ad instanciam dil'ci consanguinei & fidelis n'ri Thome comitis Lancastr' concessisse & hac carta n'ra confirmasse dil'co & fideli n'ro Joh'i de Meryet q'd ip'e & heredes sui imp'petuum h'eant lib'am warennam in om'ibz d'nicis t'ris suis de Hestercoumbe Legheflory Estcape-lond Coumbefflory & Ashton iuxta Bristoll'

in Com' Sum's'. Dum tamen t're ille non
sint infra metas foreste n're. Ita q'd nullus
intret t'ras illas ad fugandum in eis vel ad
aliquid capiend' quod ad warennam p'tineat,
sine licencia & voluntate ip'ius Joh'is vel
heredum suor', sup' forisf'curam n'ram decem
libr'. Quare volumus & firmit' p'cipim' p'
nobis & heredibz n'ris, q'd p'd'cus Joh'es &
heredes sui imp'petuu' habeant lib'am wahren-
nam in om'ibz dn'icis t'ris suis p'd'cis. Dum
tamen &c. Ita &c. sicut p'd'cm est. Hiis
testibz ven' p'ribz W. Arche'po Ebor' Angl'
Primate J. Elie'n' E'po Canc' n'ro. Joh'e de
Britann' comite Richemund Ric'o de Grey,
Hugone de Audele seniore & aliis. Dat'
p' manu' n'ram apud Ebor'. ix die Julij. p'
* ip'm R.

No. V.

[E Reg. Drok. f. ccxlviii b.]

L'ra d'ni Ep'i testimōial'
de vita Elizabeth de M'iet.

Vniu'sis vice-
comitibz. ball'is
minist'is & al'

hōibz q'buscūqz Nobil' viri d'ni Hugonis de Dispensar' ad
q'os p'sentes l're p'uen'int. J. p'miss' di'a Bathon' & Well'
Ep'us, salt' cū bn'. & grā rede'ptoris. Q'a piu' e'e credim'
& m'toriu' v'itati testimoniu' p'hib'e. ne in dubiis fluctuātes
p' errorem labant' i p'cc'm, Hinc est q'd vob' om'ibz & cuil'
vr'm notū facim' p' p'sentes, q'd d'na Elizabeth Paynel v̄x
d'ni Joh' de M'iet Milit' die Mercur' p'x^a post d'nicā qua
cātat'. offiū. letar' ierl'm. i Maner' d'ci d'ni Joh' de Hestre-

combe p'pe maner' n'rm de Wyuelesc' cū d'no suo morā
 t^{ahēs}, i plena vita & bona corp'is sanitate & sospitate
 vigebat, Et hoc vob' ac o'ibz quor' it'est itimam' p'
 p'sentes. Script' ap^d Wyuelesc' d'co die Mercur'. anno
 R. R. E. fil'. R. E. decionono.

No. VI.

[E Reg. Rad. f. cccclxxxj b.]

Rad'lus p'missione di'a Bathon' & Wellen' Ep'us. dil'co
 in x'po filio p'petuo vicar' de Tauntton n're dioc' salt'm
 gr' & b'n Cum alieni p'och' non sunt in alienis ecc'ijs
 p'hibentibz statut' canōicis p'sertim diebz d'nicis & festiuis
 ad d'ia officia admitte'di sunt qz nonnulli p'och' ecc'ie
 p'och' de Monketon' d'ce n're dioc'. qui dimissa seu
 cōtempta p'p'ia ecc'ia p'och' d'ia in ecc'ia p'och' de Tanton'
 diebz d'nicis & festiuis audire presumūt cont^a canōica
 statuta p'ut ex p'te dil'ci filij Joh'is de Bathon' R'toris
 eccl'ie de Monketon' p'd'ca nob' extitit querelatū Quare
 t' cōmittim' & mādam' firmit' iniūgentes. quat' diebz
 d'nicis & festiuis anteq^m missam celebras v'l p' aliu' facias
 celebrari in ecc'ia tua inuestiges si alt'ius p'och' in eccl'ia
 tua sit qui p'p'o contempto p'sb'ro ibid'm missam audire
 p'sumat Et si aliquos tales inuen'is ip'os a d'ca eccl'ia tua
 abiicias & cōpellas reced'e p' ce'suras eccl'iasticas in eosd'm
 au^acte n'ra canōice ful'iand' Et q'd in p'miss' fec'is nos
 v'l n'ros Cōmissar' vna cū no'ibz & cogno'ibz ip'or' quos
 rebelles inuen'is in hac p'te cū p' p'tem d'ci Rectoris fu'is
 requisit' distincte & ap'te cures redd'e c'ciores L'ris tuis
 patentibz h'ntibz har' formam auctentico sub sigillo Dat'
 ap^d Banewell' xj k'ln Octobr' anno d'ni sup^dco [1351]
 Et n're Cons'. vicesimo t'cio

No. VII.

[E Reg. Godyn, Off. Prerog. ff. 73 b, 74.]

Test'm' Roberti In dei nomi'e Amen. Septimo die
 Warre mensis Julij Anno d'ni Mill'imo
 cccc^{mo} lxx^{to} Ego Robertus Warre
 armiger in p'och' de Kyngeston' Bathonien' & Wellen'
 dioc' sane ment' & bone memorie languens in extremis
 condo test'm' meu' in hunc modu' In primis lego a'i'am
 mea' deo om'ipotentī corpusq' meu' sepeliendu' in eccl'ia
 Conuentuali Monasterij de Athelney It'm lego Cristine
 vx'i mee vna' pelue' cu' lauacro argent' It'm lego Ric'o
 filio meo vna' pelue' cum lauacro argenti It'm lego d'no
 Ric'o Saleway vicario de Kyngeston' vj^s viij^d p' decimis
 oblit' It'm lego Egidio cl'ico ib'm xx^d It'm lego Andree
 Godde vna' toga' mea' de Cremesyn penulat' cum mart'
 It'm lego Margarete vx'i Andree Godde vna' togam blodij
 coloris It'm lego Roberto Stevyns vna' toga' de Musterde-
 vilys It'm lego Johanni Clauyshay vna' toga' virid'
 coloris It'm lego Roberto Abbati nūc de Athelney &
 eiusdem loci Conuentui vnu' pallum de auro ad faciend'
 vestimentu' ad ora'd' pro aīa mea & pro aīabz om'i' fideliu'
 defunctor' Residuu' vero om'i' bonor' meor' sup'ius non
 legator' do & lego Cristine vx'i mee & Ric'o filio meo &
 heredi quos quid'm Cristinam & Ric'm ordino fac'o &
 constituo meos executores vt ip'i debit' meis primitus
 p'solut' disponant & distribuant bona mea p' salute aīe
 mee meliori modo iuxta eor' sana discrecōes & consilia
 Hijs testibz Mag'ro Ric'o Glene Prior' Prioratus Tanton'
 Joh'ne Bysshop armig'o d'no Ric'o Saleway cap^{no} ad
 p'missa vocat' sp'ialit' & rogat' in fidem & testi'o'm
 eorunde'

Probat' fuit sup^ascript' test'm' apud lamehith quinto die
 Augusti Anno d'ni sup^adict' ac approbat' &c. Et comissa

fuit admi'straçō bonor' dict' defuncti executor' in d'co test'o nomi'atis in p'sona Mag'ri Ric'i layty procur^ais &c. De b'n' admi'strand' &c ac de pleno Inuentario bonor' &c citra f'm s'ci Martini in hieme prox' futur' &c ac de pleno compoto &c in p'soⁿ p'cur^ais &c iurat' &c

No. VIII.

[Inq. p.m. 5 Edw. IV. n. 17.]

Inquisitio capt' apud Briggewater in Cōm' Som's' tricesimo die Octobris anno regni Regis Edwardi quarti post conq'm quinto coram Joh'e Peke Esc' d'ci d'ni Regis in com' p'd'co virtute br'is [&c] p' sacr'm Will'i Montagu Thome lyte Ph'i Pym Joh'is Kighley Will'i Bourn Ric'i Jaykerd Thome Goolde Joh'is Irlande Will'i Godwyn Thome Warren Joh'is Ch^{**}y & Ric'i Crips Qui dicunt sup' sacr'm suu' q'd Rob'tus Warre in d'co br'i no'iat' nulla tenuit t'ras neqz ten' de d'co d'no Rege in d'nico nec in s'uicio die quo obijt set dicunt q'd Joh'es Stourton miles Rob'tus Squybbe Gilb'tus Wyke Rob'tus Colyngborn Thomas Mocheldever Joh'es Bysshup & Thomas Warreyn fuerunt seisiti in d'nico suo vt de feodo de man'ijs de Hestercombe & Crafte voc' Crafte Warre cu' p'tin' in Com' p'd'co & sic inde seisiti man'ia p'd'ca cu' p'tin' dimiserunt & concesserunt Joh'i Warre armig'o h'end' sibi ad t'minu' vite sue Ita q'd post mortem eiusdem Joh'is man'ia p'd'ca cu' p'tin' reman' p'fato Rob'to Warre filio p'd'ci Joh'is Warre ad t'm' vite sue Ita q'd post mortem eiusdem Rob'ti Warre man'ia p'd'ca cu' p'tin' reman' Ric'o Warre filio p'd'ci Rob'ti Warre & Johanne vx'i eius filie p'fati Joh'is Stourton & hered' de corp'ibz eor'dem Rici' & Johanne legitime p'creat' Et p' def'tu' hui' exitus remanere inde rectis hered' p'd'ci Joh'is Warre imp'p'm p'ut p' quandam cartam Jur' hui' Inquis' in evidens' ostens' plene

liquet virtute cuius idem Joh'es Warre fuit modo seisitus in d'nico suo vt de lib'o ten' & inde obijt seisitus post cuius mortem d'cus Rob'tus Warre in d'ca br'i no'iat' in man'ia p'd'ca cu' p'tin' intrauit & inde fuit seisitus in d'nico suo vt de lib'o ten' et inde obijt seisitus Et q'd p'd'cus Ric'us & Johanna adhuc sup'stites existunt et *** dicunt q'd quidam finis leuauit in Curia d'ni H. sexti nup' de f'co & non de iure Regis Angl' apud Westm' in Octab' S'ci Martini anno regni sui sc'do coram Will'o Babyngton' & socijs suis tunc Justiciarijs eiusdem nup' vt p'mittit' Regis de Banco int' Ric'm Hankeford armig'um Joh'em Bluet Joh'em Dabernoun Thomam Kyngeston & Joh'em Muskham quer' & Joh'em Warre & Johannam vx'em eius deforc' de man'io de Wellefford & medietat' man'ij de Bradford iuxta Wellyngton' cu' p'tin' in Com' Som's' p' quem finem ijdem Joh'es Warre & Johanna int' al' recogn' p'dict' man'iu' & medietat' cum p'tin' esse ius ip'ius Joh'is Muskham vt illa que ijdem Joh'es Ric'us Joh'es Bluet Joh'es Dabernoun & Thomas h'ent *** p'd'cor' Joh'is Warre & Johanne Et p' hac recogn' fine & concordia ijdem Joh'es Muskham Ric'us Joh'es Bluet Joh'es Dabernoun & Thomas Kyngeston concesserunt p'd'cis Joh'i Warre & Johanne p'd'ca man'iu' & medietat' cu' p'tin' & illa eis reddiderunt in eadem Curia h'end' & tenend' eisdem Joh'i Warre & Johanne tota vita ip'or' Joh'is & Johanne & post decessu' ip'or' *** Johanne eadem man'iu' & medietas cu' p'tin' integre remanebunt p'fat' Rob'to Warre in d'co br'i no'iat' filio eor'dem Joh'is Warre & Johanne & Cristine vx'i eiusdem Rob'ti Warre *** ip'ius Rob'ti de corpore suo p'creat' Et p' def'tu' hui' exit' remaner' inde rect' hered' p'd'ci Joh'is Warre virtute cui' finis ijdem Joh'es Warre & Johanna fuer' inde seisiti in d'nico suo vt de lib'o ten' & inde obierunt se'iti post quor'

mortem ijdem Rob'tus & Cristina in man'iu' & med' p'di'et cu' p'tin' int^auerunt & modo fuerunt se'iti videl't p'd'cus Rob'tus in d'nico suo vt de feodo talliato Et p'd'ca Cristina in d'nico suo vt de lib'o ten' Et postea p'd'cus Rob'tus de tali statu inde obijt se'itus Et p'd'ca Cristina ip'm sup'uixit & se tenuit intus p' ius accrescend' & adhuc sup'stes existit Et q'd p'd'cus Rob'tus Warre nulla alia seu plura t'ras neqz ten' tenuit de d'co d'no Rege nec de aliquo alio in d'nico nec in s'uicio in Com' p'd'co die quo obijt Et vlt'ius dic' q'd p'd'em man'iu' de Hestercombe cu' p'tin' tenet^r de Will'o ep'o Wynton' set p' quod s'uiciu' Jur' p'd'ci ignorant Et q'd idem man'iu' cu' p'tin' valet p' annu' in om'ibz exit' vltra rep's' x m^{arc}' Et q'd p'd'em man'iu' de Crafte Warre cu' p'tin' tenet^r de Will'o Poulet milite set p' quod s'uiciu' ijdem Jur' ignorant Et q'd idem man'iu' cu' p'tin' valet p' annu' in om'ibz exit' vltra rep's' iiij m^{arc}' Et q'd p'd'em man'iu' de Wellyford cu' p'tin' tenet^r de Will'o Courtenay milite set p' quod s'uiciu' p'd'ci Jur' ignorant & q'd idem man'iu' cu' p'tin' valet p' annu' in om'ibz exit' vltra rep's' iiij m^{arc}' Et q'd p'd'ca medietas man'ij de Bradford cu' p'tin' tenet^r de Will'o ep'o Wynton' set p' quod s'uiciu' ijdem Jur' ignorant Et q'd eadem medietas valet per' annu' in om'ibz exit' suis vltra rep's' v. m^{arc}' Et q'd p'd'cus Rob'tus Warre obijt octauo die Julij vlt' p't'ito Et q'd Ric'us Warre armig' est filius & heres eiusdem Rob'ti p'pinquior & est etatis xl annor' & amplius. In cui' rei testi'om' tam p'sent' cart' q^{am} Jur' p'd'ci huic Inquis' sigilla sua apposuerunt. Dat' die loco & anno sup^adict'.

T. H.

Notes on the Flora of the Quantock Hills.

BY THE REV. W. TUCKWELL.

THE geological formation and the historical associations of the Quantock Hills have been abundantly investigated under the auspices of this society. Their natural productions, animal or vegetable, have not yet, so far as I know, been described or catalogued, although they contain specimens in both branches of Natural History singularly rare and sought after, and though more than one zoologist or botanist of note gazes on them daily from the windows of his home. A paper whose conditions are that it should be "light and popular," and that it should not exceed ten minutes in the delivery, cannot throw much scientific light upon the plants of the most limited region ; but it may reveal sources of enjoyment

and raise individual enthusiasm, and it may remind this meeting that the time has possibly come when our society should use the means at its command to encourage the gradual creation of such a flora and fauna of the county, as no single naturalist, unassisted by a public body, can in any case trustworthily compile.

In this beautiful valley, fat with the rich red soil that countless millennia have seen washed down from the surrounding hills, the flora is everywhere so unusually rich as to win the envy and delight of strangers. It has been my lot to pilot botanists from all parts of England in search of local rarities, and I have found their chief raptures given not to the uncommon flower they had come to see, but to the profusion of form and colour which includes almost every English genus, manifest in the common turnpike roads which skirt the hills, but revealed in full perfection to those only who penetrate the interior of the range. In the sheltered lanes of the less wooded combes, in the road from Kilve to Parsons' Farm, the footpath from the Castle of Comfort to Over Stowey, above all in the lane from the Bell Inn to Aisholt, the hedge banks and the wide grass margins of the road are scarcely surpassed in beauty by the mosaic of a Swiss meadow or an Alpine slope. From the beginning to the end of June the colours are blue and yellow; the blue represented by the *Ground Ivy*, the *Germander Speedwell*, the *Brooklime*, the late *Bugle* and the early *Self-heal*, the *Narrow-leaved Flax*, the long spikes of *Milkwort*, and the varieties of the *Violet*; the yellow by the *Bird's-foot Trefoil*, large and small, the *St. John's Wort*, *Golden Mugweed*, and *Hop-trefoil*, the *Agrimony*, the *Yellow Vetchling*, and the countless kinds of *Hawkweed*. In the hedges above are the *Mealtree* and *Guelder Rose*, the *Madder*, *White Campion* and *Lady's*

Bedstraw, half hidden by the twining tendrils, white blossoms, and tiny cucumbers of the *Bryony*; while here and there, where the hedge gives way to an old stone pit or deserted quarry, the tall *Foxglove* and the great yellow *Mullein* stand up, harmonious sisters, to fill the gap. By the middle of July the colours shift. The flora of early spring is gone, the *Milkwort* shows its pods, the *Speedwell* its bushy leaves;—the yellow still remains; but the blue has given way to pink; to the lovely *Musk Mallow*, the *Horehound*, *Dove's-foot Cranesbill*, *Restharrow*, *Painted Cup*, and *Calaminth*. With August a third change arrives; the small short clustering flowers are gone; instead of them we have the coarse straggling *Fleabanes*, *Ragworts*, and *Woodsage*; the great blue trusses of the *Tufted Vetch* and the pure white trumpets of the *Bindweed* take possession of the hedges; the yellow sagittate leaves of the *Black Bryony* and the red berries of the *Mountain Ash* warn us that summer is past. Our September visit marks the closing scene. The flowers are few and far between; but the *Ivy* bloom is musical with bees, the *Hazels* put forth clusters ruddy brown as those with which the Satyr wooed the faithful Shepherdess; the *Arum* pushes its poisonous scarlet fruit between the mats of dying grass; and the meadows which slope upwards from the brooks are blue with the flowers of the *Colchicum*.

These are all common flowers, whose names and habits, if education did her work, we should learn in childhood from our mother and our nurse. It is their immense profusion, not their rarity, that calls for notice, and they represent but a small part of the hill flora. To exhaust this fairly we must visit four different regions; the hill-tops, the bogs, the coppices, and the slopes toward the sea. Of the first it is difficult to speak without a rapturous

digression as their familiar sights and sounds occur to us ; the breeze that "seems half conscious of the joy it brings," the musical hum of bees, the warble of invisible larks, the popping of the dry furze-pods in the stillness, the quivering air above the heather, the startled spiders with their appended egg-bags, the grasshoppers, the green hair-streaks, the gem-like tiger beetles on the wing,—in the distance the Mendips and the yellow sea, or the long rich valley, closed by Dunkery and Minehead.

Heath, Furze, Bracken, and Whortle-berries, are the four tetrarchs of the hill-tops, giving endless shades of red and green and yellow. The heaths are three and only three, the *Heather*, the *Cross-leaved Heath*, and the *Bottle Heath*, the last exhibiting rarely a white variety, which in the language of flowers tells the tenderest of tales. From beneath their shelter peep the *Eyebright*, the *Spring Potentil*, the *Heath Bedstraw*, and the *Creeping St. John's Wort* ; amidst them springs the uncommon *Bristly Bent-grass* ; everywhere the green paths which wind amongst them are carpeted with the *Mænchia* and the little *Breakstone*, and bordered by the red and yellow *Sheep's-sorrel* and the pale yellow *Mouse-ear*. On many of the prickly furze beds grows the wiry leafless *Dodder* ; every ditch is filled with masses of lemon-scented *Oreopteris*, and every patch of stones is hidden by the pink blossoms of the *Mountain Stone-crop*. At 800 feet above the sea we meet with *Mat-grass* and the *Cross-leaved Heath*. Higher still we find the slender *Deer's Hair*, first cousin to the *Isolepis* of our greenhouses, and highest of all grow for those who know their haunt two species of the *Stag-horn Club-moss*.

The bogs are very numerous. They form the summits of the combes, and some of them descend the hill until they join a deep-cut stream. All are covered with the turquoise

bloom of the *Forget-me-not*, and the glossy peltate leaves of the *Marsh Penny-wort*, and choked with the little *Water Blinks*. They all include *Liver-wort*, with its umbrella shaped fructification, *Sphagnum*, *Marsh-wort*, and *Pearl-wort*; and on their margins grow the *Ivy-leaved Hair-bell*, the *Lesser Spear-wort*, the *Louse-wort*, and the *Bog-Pimpernel*. In a few of them are found the *Oblong Pond-weed* and the *Marsh St. John's Wort*; in two combes only, as far as I know, grows, alone of its genus, the *Round-leaved Sun-dew*.

Of the coppices, Cockercombe and Seven Wells are the best known; but their large trees check the growth of flowers, and the botanist will find more to please him in Butterfly Combe and Holford Glen, which are smaller and less frequented. Here in early spring masses of the *White Wild Hyacinth* rise amid last year's dead leaves; here grow the *Cow-wheat*, *Woodrush*, *Golden-rod*, *Sheep's Scabious*, *Wood Pimpernel*, *Wild Raspberry*, *Sanicle*, and *Twayblade*. The *Helleborine* is found in Crowcombe; in Tetton woods the rare pink *Lily of the Valley*; in Cothelstone the *Adders' Tongue* and *Mountain Speedwell*; in Ashleigh Combe, *Thelypteris*; in Aisholt wood the *White Foxglove*, *White Herb Robert*, and *White Prunella*; while under the famous hollies of Alfoxden, sacred to the memory of "Peter Bell" and "We are Seven," grow the graceful *Millet-grass* and a rare variety of the Bramble.

On the St. Audries slope the changed soil and the influence of the sea give birth to several new plants. The *Autumn Gentian*, the *Tufted Centaury*, the *Roundheaded Garlic*, and the *Sea Star-wort* are abundant near the cliffs; the *Perfoliate Yellow-wort* is common; *Fluellen* grows in the stubbles, the *Lady's tresses* near the lime-kiln, the *Sea Pimpernel* between the stones, the *Arrow-grass* and *Hard-*

grass just above the sea, to which we descend between banks, covered as no other banks are covered, by the magnificent *Large-flowered Tutsan*.

A few rare plants remain, which come under neither of the groups described. The *Cornish Money-wort* abounds in a small nameless combe near Quantoxhead; the rare *White Stone-crop* is indigenous or naturalised at Over Stowey; the *White Climbing Corydalis* is found close to Mr. Esdaile's lodge; the *Lady's Mantle*, *Goldilocks*, and *Bistort*, grow in the Aisholt meadows; the *Stinking Groundsel* hard by the remains of Coleridge's holly-bower. In the same neighbourhood I have twice found the *Purple Broom Rape*; and *Wilson's Film-fern*, one of the rarest of British ferns, is established in the Poet's Glen.

I venture to hope that there is no one present to whom this catalogue of plants is a catalogue and nothing more. Our English wild flowers are so charming in themselves, they awake in all of us so many associations, they hold so large a place in our poetical literature, their popular names reveal so many an etymological secret and recal so many a striking superstition, that almost every one, whatever be the line of his mental culture, is willing to own their interest and to linger over their recital. To the Shakspearian scholar they bring memories of Perdita at the shearing-feast, of Ophelia in her madness, of Imogen sung to her untimely grave, of the grey discrowned head of Lear, with its chaplet of "rank Fumiter's and Furrow-weeds." The lover of Milton points to the "rathe primrose," the eye-purging *Euphrasy*, and the *Amaranth* which was twined in the crowns of worshipping archangels. The historian of the long-buried past sees in the *Cornish Money-wort*, the *Film-fern*, and the *Lusitanian Butter-wort* of our hills evidence distinct and graphic of the time when Scot-

land, Ireland, and Spain formed with our own peninsula portions of a single continent. The student of Folk-lore tells his tales of the ceremonies which surrounded the *Vervain*, the *St. John's Wort*, and the *Rowan*, and of the strange beliefs which clung to the *Celandine*, the *Hawkweed*, and the *Fumitory*. The etymologist will elevate the names familiar to us all into evidence of the origin and habits of our remote forefathers ; he will disinter the fragments of myth and history which lie embalmed in the *Centaury*, the *Pæony*, the *Carlina Thistle*, the *Flower de Luce*, and the *Herb Robert* ; he will tell us how the *Laburnum* closes its petals nightly like a tired Labourer, how the *Campion* crowned the Champions of the tournament ; how the *Fox-glove*, the *Troll-flower*, and the *Pixie-stool*, bring messages from fairyland ; how the *Scabious*, the *Lung-wort*, the *Scrophularia*, and the *Wound-wort* bear witness to the grotesque beliefs of a pre-scientific medical community. Of the botanist I need not speak. Not a flower that blows but will furnish him with the text of an eloquent discourse. Forms, that yield to other men artistic and sensuous enjoyment only, lay bare before him secrets of structure and of function as wonderful as those which characterise his own bodily frame ; suggesting each its truth of design, and natural selection, and adapted change, and mysterious organic force. In the fructification of the orchid, the stamens of the barberry, the hairs of the nettle, the leaf of the sundew, he reads lessons as profound and similes as graceful as were taught to Chaucer and Southey and Wordsworth by the daisy and the holly and the lesser celandine. Year after year he greets the early spring with an enthusiasm which his neighbours know not, as one by one his friends of many years, the snowdrop, and the violet, and the crimson hazel stigma, and the stitchwort,

and the daffodil, and the coltsfoot, come back to him like swallows from their winter sojourn out of sight. Year after year, as the seasons die away and the earth is once more bare, he looks back delighted on the pleasant months along which he has walked hand-in-hand with nature; for he feels that his intelligence has been strengthened, his temper sweetened, and his love of God increased, by fellowship with her changes, study of her secrets, and reverence for her works.

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Rules.

THIS Society shall be denominated "THE SOMERSETSHIRE ARCHÆOLOGICAL AND NATURAL HISTORY SOCIETY;" and its object shall be the cultivation of, and collecting information on, Archæology and Natural History in their various branches, but more particularly in connection with the county of Somerset, and the establishment of a Museum and Library.

II.—The Officers of the Society shall consist of a Patron and Trustees, elected for life; a President; Vice-Presidents; General and District, or Local Secretaries; and a Treasurer, elected at each Anniversary Meeting; with a Committee of twelve, six of whom shall go out annually by rotation, but may be re-elected. No person shall be elected on the Committee until he shall have been six months a Member of the Society.

III.—Anniversary General Meetings shall be held for the purpose of electing the Officers, of receiving the Report of the Committee for the past year, and of transacting all other necessary business, at such time and place as the Committee shall appoint, of which Meetings three weeks' notice shall be given to the Members.

IV.—There shall also be a General Meeting, fixed by the Committee, for the purpose of receiving Reports, reading Papers, and transacting business. All Members shall have the privilege of introducing one friend to the Anniversary and General Meetings.

V.—The Committee is empowered to call Special Meetings of the Society upon receiving a requisition signed by ten Members. Three weeks' notice of such Special Meeting and its object shall be given to each Member.

VI.—The affairs of the Society shall be directed by the Committee (of which the Officers of the Society shall be *ex-officio* Members), which shall hold Monthly Meetings for receiving reports from the Secretaries and sub-Committees, and for transacting other necessary business; three of the Committee shall be a quorum. Members may attend the Monthly Committee Meetings after the official business has been transacted.

VII.—The Chairman, at Meetings of the Society, shall have a casting vote in addition to his vote as a Member.

VIII.—One (at least) of the Secretaries shall attend each Meeting, and shall keep a record of its proceedings. The property of the Society shall be held in trust for the Members by six Trustees, who shall be chosen from the Members at any General Meeting. All Manuscripts and Communications and the other property of the Society shall be under the charge of the Secretaries.

IX.—Candidates for admission as Members shall be proposed by two Members at any of the General or Committee Meetings, and the election shall be determined by ballot at the next Committee or General Meeting; three-fourths of the Members present balloting shall elect. The Rules of the Society shall be subscribed by every person becoming a Member.

X.—Ladies shall be eligible as Members of the Society without ballot, being proposed by two Members and approved by the majority of the Meeting.

XI.—Each Member shall pay Ten Shillings on admission to the Society, and Ten Shillings as an Annual Subscription, which shall become due on the 1st of January in each year, and shall be paid in advance.

XII.—Donors of Ten Guineas or upwards shall be Members for life.

XIII.—At General Meetings of the Society the Committee may recommend persons to be balloted for as Honorary or Corresponding Members.

XIV.—When any office shall become vacant or any new appointment shall be requisite, the Committee shall have power to fill up the same; such appointments shall remain in force only till the next General Meeting, when they shall be either confirmed or annulled.

XV.—The Treasurer shall receive all Subscriptions and Donations made to the Society, and shall pay all accounts passed by the Committee; he shall keep a book of receipts and payments which he shall produce whenever the Committee shall require it; the accounts shall be audited previously to the Anniversary Meeting by two Members of the Committee chosen for that purpose, and an abstract of them shall be read at the Meeting.

XVI.—No change shall be made in the laws of the Society except at a General or Special Meeting, at which twelve Members at least shall be present. Of the proposed change a month's notice shall be given to the Secretaries, who shall communicate the same to each Member three weeks before the Meeting.

XVII.—Papers read at Meetings of the Society and considered by the Committee of sufficient interest, shall (with the author's consent) be published in the Proceedings of the Society.

XVIII.—No religious or political discussions shall be permitted at Meetings of the Society.

XIX.—Any person contributing Books or Specimens to the Museum shall be at liberty to resume possession of them in the event of a dissolution of the Society. Persons shall also have liberty to deposit Books or Specimens for a specific time only.

XX.—In case of dissolution the real property of the Society in Taunton shall be held by the Trustees for the advancement of Literature, Science, and Art, in the town of Taunton and the county of Somerset.

March 26th, 1874.

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A
GLOSSARY
OF
PROVINCIAL WORDS & PHRASES
IN USE IN
SOMERSETSHIRE.

BY
WADHAM PIGOTT WILLIAMS, M.A.,
VICAR OF BISHOP'S HULL,

AND THE LATE
WILLIAM ARTHUR JONES, M.A., F.G.S.

WITH
AN INTRODUCTION

By R. C. A. PRIOR, M.D.



LONDON : LONGMANS, GREEN, READER, & DYER.
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1873.

P R E F A C E

IT is now nearly six years ago that the Committee of the Somersetshire Archæological Society asked me to compile a Glossary of the Dialect or archaic language of the County, and put into my hands a valuable collection of words by the late Mr. Edward Norris, surgeon, of South Petherton. I have completed this task to the best of my ability, with the kind co-operation of our late excellent Secretary, WM. ARTHUR JONES; and the result is before the public. We freely made use of Norris, Jennings, Halliwell, or any other collector of words that we could find, omitting mere peculiarities of pronunciation, and I venture to hope it will prove that we have not overlooked much that is left of that interesting old language, which those great innovators, the Printing Press, the Railroad, and the Schoolmaster, are fast driving out of the country.

WADHAM PIGOTT WILLIAMS.

Bishop's Hull, Taunton,

7th September, 1873.

INTRODUCTION.

THE following paper from the pen of Dr. Prior was read at a *Conversazione* of the Society at Taunton, in the winter of 1871, and as it treats the subject from a more general point of view than is usually taken of it, we print it with his permission as an introduction to our vocabulary:—

On the Somerset Dialects.

The two gentlemen who have undertaken to compile a glossary of the Somerset dialect, the Rev. W. P. Williams and Mr. W. A. Jones, have done me the honour to lend me the manuscript of their work; and the following remarks which have occurred to me upon the perusal of it I venture to lay before the Society, with the hope that they may be suggestive of further enquiry.

Some years ago, while on a visit at Mr. Capel's, at Bulland Lodge, near Wiveliscombe, I was struck with the noble countenance of an old man who was working upon the road. Mr. Capel told me that it was not unusual to find among the people of those hills a very refined cast of features and extremely beautiful children, and expressed a belief that they were the descendants of the ancient inhabitants of the country, who had been dispossessed of their land in more fertile districts by conquerors of coarser breed. A study of the two dialects spoken in the county (for two there certainly are) tend, I think, to corroborate the truth of this opinion.

It will be urged that during the many centuries that have elapsed since the West Saxons took possession of this part of England the inhabitants must have been so mixed up together that all distinctive marks of race must long since have been

obliterated. But that best of teachers, experience, shows that where a conquered nation remains in greatly superior numbers to its conqueror, and there is no artificial bar to intermarriages, the latter, the conqueror, will surely be absorbed into the conquered. This has been seen in our own day in Mexico, where the Spaniards, who have occupied and ruled the country nearly four hundred years, are rapidly approaching extinction. Nay, we find that even in a country like Italy, where the religion, language, and manners are the same, the original difference of races is observable in different parts of the peninsula after many centuries that they have been living side by side.

It seems to be a law of population that nations composed of different stocks or types can only be fused into a homogeneous whole by the absorption of one into the other—of the smaller into the greater, or of the town-dwellers into the country stock. The result of this law is, that mixed nations will tend with the progress of time to revert to their original types, and either fall apart into petty groups and provincial distinctions, as in Spain, or will eliminate the weaker or less numerous race, the old or the new, as the one or the other predominates. The political character of our English nation has changed from that which it was in the time of the Plantagenets by discharging from it the Norman blood; and our unceasing trouble with the Irish is a proof that we have not yet made Englishmen of them, as perhaps we never shall. A very keen observer, M. Erckman, in conversation with the *Times* correspondent, of the 21st December, 1870, made a remark upon the state of France which is so illustrative of this position, as regards that country, that I cannot forbear to give it in his own words. The correspondent had expressed his fear that, if the war were prolonged, France would lapse into anarchy. "It is not that," said M. Erckman, "which fills me with apprehension. It is rather the gulf which I begin to fear is widening between the two great races of France. The world is not cognisant of this; but I have watched it with

foreboding." "Define me the two types." "They shade into each other; but I will take, as perhaps extremes, the Gascon, and the Breton." "He proceeded," says the correspondent, "to sketch the characteristics of the people of Provence, Languedoc, and Gascony, and to contrast them with those of Brittany, middle, and north France, their idiosyncrasies of race, feeling, religion, manners—their diverse aspirations, their antagonisms. For sufficient reasons I pass over his remarks." A still more striking case of the kind is that of Egypt, a country that for more than 2,000 years has been subject to foreign conquerors, Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, Turks, and Mamelukes, and the annual influx of many thousand negro slaves, and where, notwithstanding all this, the peasantry, as far as can be judged by a careful examination of the skull, is identical with the population of the Pharaonic period.

This, then, being assumed, that a turbid mixture of different races has a tendency to separate after a time into its constituent elements, and certain originally distinct types to re-appear with their characteristic features, how does this law of population apply to Somersetshire?

It is clear from the repeated allusions to the Welsh in the laws of Ina, King of the West Saxons, that in his kingdom the ancient inhabitants of the country were not exterminated, but reduced to the condition of serfs. Some appear to have been landowners; but in general they must have been the servants of their Saxon lords, for we find the race, as in the case of the negroes in the West Indies, to have been synonymous with the servile class, so that a groom was called a *hors-wealh*, or horse Welshman, and a maid-servant a *wylen*, or Welsh-woman. As long as slavery was allowed by the law of the land—that is, during the Anglo-Saxon period, and for two centuries at least after the Conquest—there was probably no very intimate mixture of the two races. The Normans, as, in comparison with the old inhabitants of the country, they

were few in number, cannot have very materially affected them. We have, therefore, to consider what has become of them since—the Saxon master and the Welsh slave. In the Eastern Counties the invaders seem to have overwhelmed the natives, and destroyed or driven them further inland. Here, in Somerset, their language continued to be spoken in the time of Asser, the latter part of the 9th century; for he tells his readers what Selwood and other places with Saxon names were called by the Britons. We may infer from this mention of them that they were still dispersed over these counties, and undoubtedly they still live in our peasantry, and are traceable in the dialect. Now, is there any peculiarity in this which we may seize as diagnostic of British descent? I submit that we have in the West of Somerset and in Devonshire in the pronunciation of the vowels; a much more trustworthy criterion than a mere vocabulary. The British natives learnt the language that their masters spoke, and this is nearly the same as in Wilts, Dorset, Gloucester, Berks, and Hampshire, and seems to have formerly extended into Kent. But they learnt it as the Spaniards learnt Latin: they picked up the words, but pronounced them as they did their own. The accent differs so widely in the West of Somerset and in Devonshire from that of the counties east of them that it is extremely difficult for a native of these latter to understand what our people are talking about, when they are conversing with one another and unconscious of the presence of a stranger.

The river Parret is usually considered to be the boundary of the two dialects, and history records the reason of it. We learn from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 658, that “Cenwealh in this year fought against the Welsh at Pen, and put them to flight as far as the Parret.” “Her Kenwealh gefeaht æt Peonnum wiþ Wealas, and hie geflymde oþ Pedridan.” Upon this passage Lappenberg in his “England under the Anglo-Saxon kings” remarks: “The reign of Cenwealh is important on account of the aggrandisement of Wessex. He

defeated in several battles the Britons of Dyvnaint and Cernau [Devon and Cornwall] who had endeavoured to throw off the Saxon yoke, first at Wirtgeornesburh, afterwards, with more important results, at Bradenford [Bradford] on the Avon in Wiltshire, and again at Peonna [the hill of Pen in Somersetshire], where the power of the Britons melted like snow before the sun, and the race of Brut received an incurable wound, when he drove them as far as the Pedrede [the Parret] in A.D. 658."

The same author in another passage says (vol. i. p. 120): "In the south-west we meet with the powerful territory of Damnonia, the kingdom of Arthur, which bore also the name of 'West-Wales.' Damnonia at a later period was limited to Dyvnaint, or Devonshire, by the separation of Cernau or Cornwall. The districts called by the Saxons those of the Sumorsætas, of the Thornsætas [Dorset], and the Wilsætas were lost to the kings of Dyvnaint at an early period; though *for centuries afterwards a large British population maintained itself in those parts* among the Saxon settlers, as well as among the Defnsætas, long after the Saxon conquest of Dyvnaint, who for a considerable time preserved to the natives of that shire the appellation of the *Welsh kind*."

In corroboration of Lappenberg's opinion, one in which every antiquary will concur, I may notice in passing that many a farm in West Somerset retains to the present day an old name that can only be explained from the Cornish language. Thus, "Plud farm," near Stringston, is "Clay farm," or "Mud farm," from *plud*, mire. In a word, the peasantry of West Somerset are Saxonized Britons. Their ancestors submitted to the conquering race, or left their country and emigrated to Brittany, but were not destroyed; and in them and their kinsmen of Cornouailles in France we see the living representatives of the ancient Britons as truly as in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Cumberland, or Wales.

The characteristic feature of their dialect, and the remark

applies of course equally to the Devonian which is identical with it, is the sound of the French *u* or the German *ü* given to the *oo* and *ou*, a sound that only after long practice can be imitated by natives of the more eastern counties. Thus a "roof" is a *rüf*, "through" is *thrü*, and "would" is *wüd*. The county might consequently be divided into a "Langue d'oo" and a "Langue d'ü."

An initial *w* is pronounced *oo*. "Where is Locke?" "Gone t' Ools, yer honour." "What is he gone there for?" "Gone zootniss, yer honour." The man was gone to Wells assizes as a witness in some case. In a public-house row brought before the magistrates they were told that "Oolter he com in and drug un out." ("Walter came in and dragged him out.") *Ooll* for "will" is simply *ooill*. An *owl doommun* is an old ooman. This usage seems to be in accordance with the Welsh pronunciation of *w* in *cwm*.

There are other peculiarities that seem to be more or less common to all the Western Counties, and to have descended to them from that Wessex language that is commonly called Anglo-Saxon—a language in which we have a more extensive and varied literature than exists in any other Germanic idiom of so early a date, itself the purest of all German idioms. It is a mistake to suppose that it is the parent of modern English. This has been formed upon the dialect of Mercia, that of the Midland Counties; and it cannot be too strongly impressed upon strangers who may be inclined to scoff at West Country expressions as inaccurate and vulgar, that before the Norman Conquest our language was that of the Court, and but for the seat of Government having been fixed in London might be so still; that it was highly cultivated, while the Midland Counties contributed nothing to literature, and the Northern were devastated with war; and that the dialect adopted, so far from being a better, is a more corrupt one.

The peculiarities to which I allude as common to all the Southern Counties are these: The transposition of the letter *r*

with another consonant in the same syllable, so that *Prin* for *Prince* becomes *Purn*, *fresh fursh*, *red ribbons urd urbans*—a change that certainly is more general and more uniformly carried out in the Langue d'ü district than in the Langue d'oo, but cannot be quite exclusively appropriated by the former.

Under the same category will fall the transposition of *s* with *p*, as in *waps* for *wasp*, *curps* for *crisp*; with *k*, as in *ax* for *ask*; with *l*, as in *halse* for *hazel*.

A hard consonant at the beginning of a word is replaced with a soft one, *f* for *v*, as in *vire* for *fire*; *s* with *z*, as in *zur* for *sir*; *th* with *d*, as in “What’s *dee* doing here *dis* time o’night?” *k* with *g*, as in *gix*, the hollow stalk of umbelliferous plants, for *keeks*. To be “as dry as a gix” is to be as dry as one of these stalks—a strong appeal for a cup of cider.

Of another peculiarity which our Western district has in common with Norway, I am uncertain whether it extends further eastward, or not; I mean the replacing an initial *h* with *y*, as in *yeffer* for *heifer*, *Yeffeld* for *Heathfield*. One it has in common with Latin as compared with Greek—the replacing an initial hard *th* with *f*, as in *fatch* for *thatch*, like L. *fores* for *θυρα*. A singularly capricious alteration of the vowels, so as to make long ones short, and short ones long, is, as far as I am aware, confined to our Langue d'ü district. For instance, a *pool*-reed is called a *pull*-reed, a *bull* a *bul*, a *nail* a *nal*, *paint* *pant*; and bills are sent in by country tradespeople with the words so spelt. Again, a *mill* is called a *meel*, and a *fist* a *feest*, *pebble* becomes *popple*, and *Webber* (a surname) *Wobber*. This looks like one of those dialectic peculiarities for which there is no means of accounting.

In the selection of words for their vocabulary I trust that these gentlemen will follow the example of Mr. Cecil Smith in his admirable work on “The Birds of Somersetshire—not to admit one of which he had not positive proof that it had been shot in this county. Every one should be taken down from the lips of a native, and such as cannot be identified

should be sternly rejected. The task that they have undertaken is a laborious one ; but there is no county in England that affords such materials for tracing the influence of a subordinate upon a conquering race—of a Celtic language upon one that was purely German.

I cannot conclude these remarks without adverting to a rich and hitherto quite unexplored mine of antiquities—the names of our fields. There is reason to believe that our country roads were traced out, and the boundaries and names of our fields assigned to them, when these were first reclaimed from the primeval forest, and that they are replete with notices of ancient men and manners that deserve and will well repay our careful study.

Since the above has been in type I have had the satisfaction of learning from Mr. G. P. R. Pulman, of the Hermitage, Crewkerne, that at Axminster, the river Axe, the ancient British and Saxon boundary line, divides the dialect spoken to the east of it (the Dorset, to judge from a specimen of it that he has enclosed) from the Devon. He goes on to say : “ On the opposite, the west side of the river, as at Kilmington, Whitford, and Colyton, for instance, a very different dialect is spoken, the general south or rather east Devon. The difference between the two within so short a distance (for you never hear a Devonshire sound from a native Axminster man) is very striking.” That after a period of 1,200 years the exact limit of the two races should still be distinguishable in the accent of their descendants, is an interesting confirmation of the view that I have taken of the origin of these dialects, and at the same time a remarkable proof of the tenacity of old habits in a rural population ; the more so that the boundary line of the dialects does not coincide with that of the two counties.

A GLOSSARY
OF
PROVINCIAL WORDS AND PHRASES
IN USE IN
SOMERSETSHIRE.

- A, *pron.*** He, ex. a did'nt zai zo did a?
- A, adverbial prefix,** ex. afore, anigh, athin
- A, for "have"**
- A, participial prefix,** corresponding with the Anglo-Saxon *ge* and *y*, ex. atwist, alost, afeard, avroze, avriz'd
- Abeare *v.*** bear, endure, ex. for anything that the Court of this Manor will abeare. *Customs of Taunton Deane*
- Abbey *s.*** great white poplar **Abbey-lug,** a branch or piece of timber of the same (*D. Abeel*)
- Abbey-lubber *s.*** a lazy idle fellow, *i.e.* worthless as abbey wood
- Addice, Attis *s.*** an adze
- Addle *s.*** a fester (*A S adl* disease)
- After,** along side
- Agallied, *past part.*** frightened
- Agin *pr.*** against **Auverginst,** over-against, up to, in preparation for, as Agin Milemas
- Agon, *past part.*** gone by. Also *adv.*
- Ail *s.*** ailment, a disease in the hind-quarter of animals, ex. Quarter-ail
- Aine *v.*** to throw stones at (*A S hēnan* to stone)
- Aines,** just as **Al-aines,** all the same, or all one
- Al-on-een,** on tip toe, eager
- Aller, (*A S alr*)** alder tree **Allern** made of alder

Amper, Hamper *s.* a pimple Ampery, pimply

An *prep.* If

An-dog, Handog *s.* andiron

Angle-dog, or Angle-twitch *s.* a large earth-worm (A S *Angel-twicce*), *Angle* a fish-hook

Anpassey, Anpussey, the sign of &, *i.e.* and *per se*

Anty, empty

Appropo, (Fr. *Apropos*) but used as one of a small group of Norman French words which have got into popular use

Apse, Apsen-tree, (A S *aeps*) the aspen tree

Ar-a-one, ever-a-one Nar-a-one, never-a-one

Arry, any N'urry, none

Asew, drained of her milk : applied to a cow at the season of calving. From *sew* to drain, hence *sewer*

Aslun, Aslue, Aslope, *adv.* indicate oblique movements in different directions and levels

Asplew *adv.* extended awkwardly

Astroddle *adj.* astride

Auverlook *v.* to bewitch

Ax *v.* to waddle

Axe, (A S *asean*) *v.* to ask, always used in Wiclif's Bible

Axen, (A S *ahse. axse*) *s.* ashes, ex. Here maaid, teeak showl and d'up axen

Axpeddlar *s.* dealer in ashes

Backlet *s.* the back part of the premises

Back-stick, Backsword *s.* single-stick, a favourite game in Wedmore

Backsunded *adj.* with a northern aspect

Bal-rib *s.* spare-rib

Bally-rag *v.* to use abusive language

Ban *v.* to shut out, stop, ex. I ban he from gwain there

Bane *s.* liver disease in sheep, east of the Parret ; west of the river the term **Coed** or **Coathed** is used, ex. I count they be beünd

Bannin *s.* That which is used for shutting out, or stopping

Bannut *s.* Walnut A woman, a spaunel, and a bannut tree,
The mooar you bate 'em the better they be

Barrener *s.* a cow not in calf

Barrow *s.* a child's pilch or flannel clout

Barrow-pig *s.* a gelt-pig

Barton *s.* a farm-yard, the Barn-town

Bastick *s.* basket

Bat, But, the root end of a tree after it has been thrown, also spade of cards, the stump of a post

Batch, a sand bank, or patch of ground, or hillock, "a hill," as Churchill-batch, Chelvey-batch, (lying within, or contiguous to, a river); emmet-batches, ant-hills **Duck-batches**, land trodden by cattle in wet weather

Bats *s.* corners of ploughed fields: low-laced boots

Bawker: Bawker-stone *s.* a stone for whetting scythes

Be, indic. ex. I be, thou bist, he be

Bear-hond *v.* to help

Bear-nan, Bear-in-hond, Bean-hond *v.* to intend, purpose, think, suspect, conjecture, ex. I do beanhond et'l rain zoon

Beat the streets, to run about idly

Beeastle, Beezle *v.* to make nasty

Bee-bird *s.* the White-throat

Bee-but, Bee-lippen, a bee-hive (*lepe*, a basket, Wiclif Acts ix, 25)

Beetel, Bittle, or Bitle *s.* a bron-bitle, or brand-bitle, a heavy mallet for cleaving wood. Shaks. Hen. IV. "fillip me with a three man beetle" **Bitle-head** *s.* a blockhead

Becal *v.* to abuse, to rail at

Bedfly *s.* a flea

Bed-lier *s.* a bed-ridden person

Beever *s.* a hedge-side encumbered with brambles

Begaur, Begaurz, Begumm, Begummers, words of asseveration and exclamation

Begrumped *adj.* soured, displeased

Begurg *v.* begrudge

Behither *adv.* on this side

Belge, or Belve *v.* to bellow

Belk, or Bulk, *v.* to belch

Bell flower, Bell-rose, a Daffodil

Belsh *v.* to clean the tails of sheep

Benet, Bents *s.* **Bennetty** *adj.* long coarse grass, and plantain stalks

Benge *v.* to continue tippling, to booze

Benns, or Bends, ridges of grass lands

Bepity *v.a.* to pity

Beskummer *v.* to besmear, abuse, reproach

Bethink *v.* to grudge, ex. He bethink'd I but everything

Betwattled *v. n.* to be in a distressed state of mind, also *v. a.*

Betwit, to rake up old grievances

Bevorne, before

Bibble *v.* to tipple **Bibbler** *s.*

Biddy *s.* a chick. **Chick-a-Biddy**, a term of endearment

Biddy's eyes *s.* pansy

Bide *v.* to live or lodge in **Bidin** *s.* a place where a man lives

Big, Beg, Begotty *adj.* grand, consequential, ex. Too big for his birches

Billid *adj.* distracted, mad

Billy *s.* a bundle of straw, or reed, one-third part of a sheaf

Bim-boms *s.* anything hanging as a bell, icicles, or tags of a woman's bonnet, or dress

Bin, Bin'swhy *conj.* because, seeing that, prob. "being," provided that

Binnic, or Bannisticle *s.* stickle-back

Bird-battin *v.* taking birds at night with a net attached to two poles. Shaks. bat-fowling

Bird's-meat, Bird's-pears *s.* hips and haws

Bisgee, (*g* hard), (*Fr. besaigue. Lat bis-acuta*) *s.* a mooting or rooting axe, sharp at both ends and cutting different ways

Bis't *v.* Art thou? (*Germ. bist du*)

Bit *s.* the lower end of a poker *v.* to put a new end to a poker

Bivver *v.* to shake or tremble, ex. They'll make he bivver, (*A S bifian, to tremble*)

Blackhead *s.* a boil, a pinswil

Black-pot *s.* black-pudding

Blacky-moor's-beauty *s.* Sweet scabious

Blake *v.* to faint (A S *blæcan*, to grow pale)

Blanker, Vlanter, Flanker *s.* a spark of fire

Blanscuc *s.* an unforeseen accident

Blather *s.* **Bladder** *v.* to talk in a windy manner, to vapour

Eleachy *adj.* brackish

Blicant *adj.* bright, shining (A S *blīcan*, to shine)

Blid *s.* applied in compassion, as poor old blid—blade

Blowth *s.* bloom, blossom, ex. A good blowth on the apple trees

Blunt *s.* a storm of snow or rain, snow-blunt

Boarden *adj.* made of board

Bobsnarl *s.* a tangle as of a skein of twine

Booc *s.* a wash of clothes, (A S *buc* water vessel)

Bodkins *s.* swingle-bars **Weys and Bodkins**, portions of plough-harness

Body-horse *s.* the second horse in a team, that which draws from the end of the shafts

Boming *adj.* hanging down, like a woman's long hair

Boneshave *s.* hip-rheumatism

Bore, the tidal wave in the river Parrett

Borrid *adj.* applied to a sow when seeking the boar

Bos, Bus *s.* a yearling calf, a milk sop (Lat. *bos*)

Bottle *s.* a bubble, a small cask for cider *v.* to bubble

Boughten *past part.* of to buy

Bow *s.* a culvert, arched bridge, arch, as Castle-bow, Taunton

Bowerly *adj.* portly, tall, well-made, quy. *buirldy*

Bowsin *s.* fore part of a cattle stall

Brandis *s.* an iron frame to support a pan or kettle over a hearth-fire (A S *brand-isen*)

Brash *s.* a row, tumult, crash (A S *brastl* a noise)

Brave *adj.* in good health

Brazed *past part.* cramped with cold

Br'd, or Bard, Breaze *v.* to bruize, to indent, as on an apple ;

Breath *s.* a scent, a smell

Breeze *v.* to braize or solder a kettle

Brickle, Burtle *adj.* brittle

Brineded *adj.* brindled

Bring-gwain *v.* to get rid of, to spend, to accompany a person
some way on a journey, bring-going

Brit, Burt, to leave a dent or impression

Brize, Prize *v.a.* to press down

Broom-squires *s.* Quantock broom-makers

Brock *s.* a piece of turf for fuel (Du. *brocke*, a morass)

Broller, Brawler *s.* a bundle of straw

Brow-square, an infant's head cloth

Bruckley, Brocle *adj.* as applied to stock given to break fence,
to cheese that breaks into fragments

Brummle, Brimmel (A S *brimel*) *s.* bramble

Bucked *adj.* having a strong hircine taste, applied to cheese

Buckle *v.n.* to bend, to warp

Buckle *s.* a dispute *v.* to quarrel.

Buddle *v.* to suffocate in mud

Bug *s.* beetle, as water-bug, may-bug, cockchafer

Bullen *s.* large black sloes; bullace-plum

Bullworks, Bullocking *adj.* rude, romping

Bumtowel *s.* long-tailed tit

Bungee, (g hard), *adj.* short and squat

Burcott *s.* a load

Burge *s.* bridge

Burr *s.* a sweet-bread

Bursh *s.* brush

Busket *s.* a bush or brake

But *s.* a basket for catching salmon; also a bee-hive

But, for Put, a heavy cart

Butter and Eggs *s.* toad-flax, *linaria vulgaris*

Button stockings *s.* gaiters

Butty *s.* a partner

Buzzies *s.* flies

Byes *s.* furrows

By-now, a short time ago

- Caddle** *s.* bustle, ex. We'rn jussy caddle to-day
Cadock *s.* a bludgeon, a short thick club
Cag *v.* to annoy, vex
Cag *v.* to irritate
Challenge *s.* and *v.a.* challenge
Cal-home, or Cal-over *v.* to publish or call the banns of marriage for the last time
Callyvan' or Carryvan, also **Clevant** and **Vant**, a pyramidal trap for catching birds, *quy. colly fang, (A S fangen, to take)*
Cannel, Cannal *s.* the faucet of a barrel—tap-and-canal
Car *v.* to carry, ex. Cassn't car'n?
Carry-merry *s.* a kind of sledge used in conveying goods
Carvy-seeds *s.* carraway seeds, (*carvi sem :*)
Cauk *v.* to turn down the ends of shoes for a horse to stand on ice
Caxon *s.* a sorry wig
Chaccle *v.* to caccle as a hen
Chaity *adj.* careful, nice, delicate
Chaine *s.* a weaver's warp
'Ch'am, (A S *ic eom :* Germ. *Ich bin*) I am. **'Ch'ave,** I have.
'Ch'ad, I had. **'Ch'ool,** I would. **Uch'll go,** I will go.
 "Chill not let go, zir, without vurther 'casion." Shaks.
 Lear, iv, 6. This form occurs chiefly in the neighbourhood of Merriott.
Cham *v.* To chew
Charm *s.* confused noise as of birds
Cheaymer, Chimmer *s.* a bed-room
Cheese-steane *s.* a wring or press for cheese
Chibbole *s.* (Sp. *cepolla*, Fr. *ciboule*) a young onion, before the bulb is fully formed
Chilbladder *s.* a chilblain
Chilver, (A S *cilfer-lamb*), an ewe lamb **Pur,** the male lamb
Chilver-hog and **Pur-hog,** sheep under one year old
Chine *s.* that part of a cask which is formed by the projection of the staves beyond the head, **Chine-hoops** top-hoops
Chissom, Chism *v.* to bud, to shoot out; also, *s.* a bud
Chowr *v.* to grumble, to mutter (A S *ceorian*, to murmur)

Clam *v.* to handle in a slovenly manner

Clamper *s.* a difficulty, ex. I zined once and a got meself in jissey clamper I never w'ont zine nothing no more

Claps *v.* clasp

Clathers *s.* clothes or rags

Clavy, a shelf **Clavel-tack**, a mantel-piece, a place where keys (*claves*) are kept, a shelf for keys **Holmen-clavel**, an inn on Blagdon hill, so called from having a large *holm-beam* supporting the mantel-piece

Cleve-pink, or **Cliff-pink**, a species of pink growing wild in the Cheddar cliffs, *dianthus deltoides*

Clim, **Climmer**, **Climber** *v.* to climb **Clammer** *s.* a worn footpath up a steep bank

Clinkers *s.* hoof marks **Clinker-bells**, icicles

Clint, or **Clent** *v.* to clench

Clit *v.* **Clitty** *adj.* applied to bread not properly kneaded

Clittersome *adj.* troublesome

Clivver-and-shiver *adv.* completely, totally

Clize, **Clice** *s.* a swinging door, or valve of a dike or rhine, (*A S clysing*)

Cloam, **Cloamen**, coarse earthen ware

Clothen *adj.* made of cloth

Clotting, **Clatting** *s.* fishing for eels with a knot or clot of worms, which is also called **reballing**

Clout *s.* and *v.* a blow in the face or head, to beat about the head

Clumber *s.* a clump, or large piece

Cly, **Cliver**, **Clider**, or **Clidden** *s.* goose-grass

Coathe, or **Coe** *v. a.* to bane, applied to sheep, rabbits, and hares

Cock-and-mwile *s.* a jail

Cock-lawt, **Cock-lart** *s.* a garret or cock-loft

Cock-squailing *s.* an old Shrove Tuesday sport—(in Somerset, Shaff Tuesday), flinging sticks at a cock tied by the leg, one penny per throw, whoever kills him takes him away

Cob-wall *s.* made of mud and straw, **mud-and-stud**, or **wattle-and-dab**

College *s.* an assemblage of small tenements, having a common entrance from the street, and only one

- Colley** blackbird ; **Water-colley** water-ouzel ; **Mountain-colley** ring-ouzel
- Colt** a person entering on a new employment ; **Colting**, **Colt-ale** a fine on entering ; footing ; also, a thrashing
- Comb-broach** *s.* tooth of a wool-combe, a spit, knitting-needle (*Fr. broche*)
- Commandement** *s.* (Four syllables as in Chaucer and Wiclif), command
- Conk, or Skonk** *s.* a collection of people (*Lat. concio*)
- Connifle** *v.* to embezzle, to sponge
- Cop-bone** *s.* knee-pan, patella
- Count** *v.* to think, to esteem
- Couples, Cooples** *s.* an ewe with her lambs ; **Double-couples** *s.* an ewe with twins
- Coy** *v.* to decoy ; **Cway Pool** *s.* a decoy
- Cowerd Milk** *s.* milk not skimmed
- Cow-babby** *s.* a great childish fellow
- Crab-lantern** *s.* a cross froward child
- Crap** a bunch or cluster (*Fr. grappe*)
- Crap, Crappy** *v.* to snap, to crack
- Craze** *v. a.* to crack
- Crease** *s.* crest of a horse's neck, a crestline of a roof
- Creem** *s.* and *v.* a cold shivering, to shiver ; **to creamy** *adj.* subject to shivers
- Creem** *v.* to crush or squeeze severely the limbs of a person
- Crewel** *s.* a cowslip
- Creeze** *adj.* squeamish, dainty
- Crip** *v.* to clip—as the hair
- Cripner, Kr'pner** *s.* crupper strap
- Crips, or Curps** *adj.* crisp
- Criss-cross-lain** the alphabet, because in the Horn-book it was preceded by a **X** (*Fr. croissette*)
- Crope** *pret. of creep* crept, ex. A craup'd in
- Cross-axe** *s.* an axe with two broad and sharp ends, one cutting breadth-wise, the other length-wise, called also **grub-axe** and **twibill**

- Crowdy, Crowdy-kit** (Celtic *crwth*) *s.* small fiddle; to crowd *v.* to grate as the two ends of a broken bone, to make a flat creaking; **Crowder** *s.* a fiddler (*W. crwthwr*)
- Crown** *v.* **Crowner's quest** *s.* Coroner's Inquest. To be crowned, to have an inquest held over a dead body by the direction of the coroner
- Crub, Croost** *s.* a crust of bread
- Cruel** *adv.* intensive, as **cruel-kind**, very kind
- Cry** *s.* to challenge, bar, or object to
- Cubby-hole** *s.* a snug comfortable situation for a child, such as between a person's knees when sitting before the fire
- Cuckold** *s.* the plant Burdock; cuckold-buttons, the burs, (*A S coccel*, darnel, tares)
- Cue** *s.* the shoe on an ox's hoof, or tip on a man's boot
- Curdle** *v.a.* to curl, also, *v.n.*; **Curdles** *s.* curls
- Cut** *s.* a door hatch
- Curse** *s.* cress
- Cuss** *v.* to curse; **Cussin Sarvice** the Commination
- Custin** *s.* a kind of small wild plum
- Cutty** *adj.* small, as **cutty-pipe**, **cutty-wren**; **Cutty-bye**, a cradle, a hob-goblin
- Daddick** *s.* rotten-wood; **Daddicky** *adj.* perished like rotten-wood, applied metaphorically to the old and feeble
- Dag-end** *s.* applied to a sheaf of reed
- Daggers** *s.* sword-grass, a kind of sedge
- Dame** *s.* never applied to the upper ranks of society, nor to the very lowest, but to such as farmer's wives, or the schoolmistress: rarely if ever applied to a young woman
- Dandy** *adj.* distracted
- Dap** *v.* to hop as a ball
- Dap** *s.* the hop, or turn of a ball; also habits and peculiarities of a person, ex. I know all the daps on'm
- Dor, Dare** *v. and s.* to frighten, stupify: ex. Put a dor on'n
- Dare-up** *v.* to wake or rouse up a person that is dying or asleep
- Dave** *v.* to thaw
- Davver, or Daver** *v.* to fade, to droop; **Davered** drooping
- Dawzin** *s.* a conjuring device to discover minerals by the twisting of a hazel-rod

- Devil-screech, Devil-swift, or Devilling *s.* the Swift
 Devil's Cow *s.* a kind of beetle
 Dew-bit *s.* an early morsel before breakfast
 Diddlecum *adj.* distracted, mad
 Diff *adj.* deaf
 Dilly *adj.* cranky, queer
 Dir'd *s.* thread, ex. Whaur's my d'r'd and niddel?
 Dish-wash, or Dippity-washty *s.* a water-wagtail
 Dirsh, Drush, or Drasher *s.* a thrush
 Dirt *s.* earth generally, as mould in a garden
 Dirten *adj.* miry, dirty, or made of dirt
 Dock *s.* the crupper of a saddle
 Dockery-stick *s.* phosphorescent wood
 Donnins *s.* dress, clothes
 Double-spronged when potatoes lying in the ground throw out fresh tubers
 Dough-fig *s.* a Turkey-fig
 Douse, or Touse *s.* a smart blow, particularly on the face, ex. A douse on the chaps
 Down-arg *v.* to contradict, ex. He 'ood downarg I
 Down-daggered *adj.* disconsolate, cast-down
 Draen, Drean *v.* to drawl (Fr. *trainer*)
 Draffit *s.* a tub for pigs'-wash (*draught-vat*)
 Drail *s.* the piece of leather connecting the flail with its handle
 Drang *s.* a narrow path or lane
 Drang-way a drove or gate-way
 Drapper *s.* a small tub
 Drash *v.* to thrash; Drashel, or Thrashle *s.* a flail (A S *therscel*)
 Drashold, or Dreshol *s.* a threshold
 Drawl, Dräil *s.* the forepart of the sull of a plough; in West Somerset, weng (A S *wang* or *weng* a cheek)
 Drift *s.* a lask, or looseness
 Drimmelng *adj.* slow, continuous pain
 Dring *v.* (*pret.* Drang) to throng, crowd, *s.* Dringet, a crowd (Dutch, *dringen*, to press)

- Drink** *s.* small beer, or cider
- Droot** *v.* to drivel
- Dro** *v.* (*part.* **Dro'd**) to throw, *ex.* The tree wur dro'd
- Drow, or Drowy** *v.* to dry, *ex.* It do drowy terble now, as applied to grass; **Muck-adrowd, or Muck-adrowy** *s.* dust
- Drub, Drubby** *v.* to throb
- Druck** *v.* to cram or thrust down
- Druck-pieces** *s.* pieces of wood let into a wall to support the pipe of a pump
- Drug** *v.* to drag, also *pret.* of drag; *ex.* He drug un out of the pond; **Drugs** *s.* harrows or drags
- Dub, Dubby, Dubbid** *adj.* blunt, squat
- Dubbin** *s.* suet or fat for greasing leather
- Duck** *v.* to carry a person under the arms in a suspended state
- Dudder** *v.* to confound with noise
- Duds** *s.* foul linen
- Dumbledore, Dumbledory** *s.* a humble bee, stupid fellow
- Dummie, Dunnie** *s.* a hedge-sparrow
- Dumps** *s.* the twilight, *ex.* Dumps of the yavening; **Dumpsy** towards twilight
- Dunch** *adj.* deaf
- Dunder-daisy** *s.* large field daisy
- Dungmixen** *s.* a dung-heap
- Durgin** (*g hard*) *s.* a great stupid fellow
- Durns** *s.* side-posts of a door, (*? doorings*)
- Ear-burs** *s.* a swelling behind the ear
- Ear-grass, or Hay-grass** *s.* grass after mowing, from *A S erian*, to till; the grass of tilled land
- Ear-keckers** *s.* the tonsils of the throat
- Eave, Heave** *v.n.* to give out moisture, as flagstones in wet weather
- E'en-to, Ee'nsto** *adv.* up to, all but, *ex.* There were ten e'ensto one or two
- Element** *s.* the sky, used in this sense by Shakespeare in *Twelfth-night*

- Elem'n, or Elm'n** *adj.* made of elm
Eldern *adj.* made of the elder
Elt-pig *s.* a young sow
Elver, Eelver, or Yelver *s.* the young eel
Emmers *s.* pl. embers
Emp, or Empt *v.* to empty
En, or Un *pron.* Him, ex. A zid'n : he saw him (A S *hine*)
Er *pron.* He, ex. Er ziden : he saw him
Errish, Arrish, or Herrish *s.* stubble
Evet *s.* eft, or newt
Ex *s.* an axle
Eye *s.* the cavity beneath the arch of a bridge
Fadge *v.* to fare, to be in good condition. "How will this fadge?" Shaks. Twelfth-night
Fags *interj.* truly! indeed!
Fairy, Fare, Vare *s.* a weasel (old Fr. *vair*, ermine)
False *adj.* forsworn, perjured
Falsing *adj.* coaxing
Fardel *s.* a small bundle, Shaks. Hamlet
Faut (faät) *v.* to find fault
Fauty (faäty) *adj.* given to find fault
Fauth, Foth, Voth *s.* the turning place of the plough at the side of a field
Feäty *adj.* pretty, neat
Feäze *v.* to harass, or ferret
Feaver-largin (g hard), *s.* a fit of indolence
Fell *v.* to sew down a hem
Fend *v.* to forbid (Fr. *defendre*)
Fess *adj.* gay, smart, ex. A fess fellow
Few, Veo *adj.* little, as a few broth
Fie *s.* to succeed, ex. Che-ating pl'y 'll never fie
Fig *s.* raisin : figgety-pudden, figgy-cake, rich with raisins
Fildëfare, Veelvare *s.* a fieldfare : varewell veelvare, farewell
 winter
Filtry *s.* rubbish
Fitch, Fitchet *s.* a pole cat, ex. As cross as a fitchet

- Fitten** *s.* an idle fancy, whim
Flap-jack *s.* small pancake, fritter
Flanker, Vlanker *s.* a spark of fire
Flannin, Vlannen *s.* a flannel
Fleet *s.* the windward side of a hedge
Fleet *v.* to float
Flick *s.* the inside fat of animals; also flitch of bacon
Flittermouse *s.* a bat (Ger. *Fledermaus*)
Flook *s.* a flounder; also a parasite in the liver of sheep
Flush *adj.* fledged, in full feather *adv.* even with
Foäse *v.* to wheedle, to deceive *adj.* false
Fob *s.* froth, slaver *v.* to put off with a pretence
Fog *s.* old, withered or spoilt grass
Fog-earth *s.* bog-earth, peat
Foggy *adj.* fat, corpulent
Fooäse, or Vooäse *v.* to force, to oblige
Footer *s.* a worthless shabby fellow *adj.* footy
Fore-spur, or Vore-spur *s.* the fore-leg of pork
Fore-right, Vore-right *adj.* rash, head-long, head-strong
Forrel *s.* the cover of a book, the selvage of a handkerchief
Forware, or Verware *v.* to indemnify
Forweend *adj.* hard to please, wayward, spoilt in nursing
Frame *v.* to form, fashion the speech, ex. If I wur axed I
could'nt frame to spake it so
Frangle *s.* fringe (Fr. *frange*)
Free-bore *adj.* free, free-born
French-nut *s.* walnut
Fret *v.* to eat, as the lower animals (G *fressen*, A S *fretan*,
as opposed to G *essen*, A S *etan*, applied to man): ex. The
moth fretteth the garment; a use of the word retained in
the West, and usually applied to the browsing of cattle
Furcum, or Vurcum *s.* the whole, even to the bottom
Furr, or Vurr *v.* to cast a stone far
Fump *s.* the whole of a business

- Fuz, Fuzzen, Furze** *s.* gorse, prov. When fuz is out o' blossom
Fuz-pig *s.* hedge hog Kissing's out o' fashin
- Gad** *s.* a fagot-stick; **Spar-gad** a twisted stick picked at both ends to spar (Ger. *sperren*) or fasten down thatch. Near Bath, **spick-gad**
- Gain** *adj.* handy; **Gainer** more handy
- Gale** *s.* an old bull castrated
- Gall** *s.* a wet place, abounding in springs
- Gally, Gallow** *v.* to frighten; **Gallied** frightened Shak. K. Lear, iii, 2, "Skies gallow the wanderer"
- Gally-baggur** *s.* bug-bear, a trace of the time when gallows were a more common sight
- Gamble** *s.* a leg, (Ital. *gamba*)
- Gambril** *s.* a crooked stick used by butchers to suspend a carcase
- Gammets, Gamoting** *s.* whims, tricks, pranks
- Ganny-cock** *s.* a turkey-cock
- Ganny-cock's nob** *s.* the appendage to a turkey-cock's beak
- Gapes-nest** *s.* an idle spectacle
- Gare** *s.* gear; **Ire-gare** *s.* plough-gear, iron-work
- Garn, or Gearn, Gearden** *s.* a garden
- Gatchel** *s.* the mouth
- Gate-shord, or sheard** *s.* a gate-way, a place for a gate
- Gatfer** *s.* an old man (good father)
- G'auf** to go off; **G'auver** to go over; **G'in** to go in; **G'on** to go on; **G'out** to go out; **Go'vorn** go before him or them; **G'under** to go under; **G'up** to go up: ex. Thear I wur', d' knaw, carnared (in a corner); coud'n g'auver, g'under, g'in, nor g'out
- Gawcum, Gawcumin** *s.* a simpleton, a gawkey
- Gee-wi'** (*g* soft), *v.* to agree; **Gee** (*g* hard), to give, ex. To gee out—to thaw
- Gib, or Gibby** (*g* hard), *s.* a pet lamb
- Gibby-heels** (*g* hard), *s.* kibed-heels
- Giffin** (*g* hard), *s.* a trifle, a small portion of time
- Gilawfer, Gillifer, Gilliflower** (*g* soft), stocks; **Whitsun** **Gilawfer**, carnation, also the wallflower

- Giltin-cup (g hard), *s.* butter-cup
 Gimmace (g hard), *s.* a hinge
 Gimmaces (g hard) *s.* a criminal is said to be hung in
 gimmaces, when he is hung in chains
 Glare *v.* to glaze earthenware. Also *s.* *ex.* The roads are
 all a glare of ice
 Glassen *adj.* made of glass
 Glou, Glouie *v.* to stare
 Glou-beäson *s.* a glow-worm, a bold impudent fellow
 Glutch, Glutchy *v.* to swallow *s.* the act of swallowing
 Glutcher *s.* the throat
 Gold *s.* sweet willow; *Myrica gale*, abundant in the moors of
 Somerset, in the herbalists called *Gaule*
 Go-lie *v.* spoken of corn falling after rain; applied to wind,
 to subside
 Gool-french a gold-finch, a proud tailor
 Gollop *s.* a large morsel
 Gommer *s.* an old woman (good mother)
 Good-hussy *s.* a thread-case
 Goody *v.* to appear good, to prosper
 Goose-cap *s.* a giddy, silly person
 Goose-herd, or Goosier *s.* one who breeds or looks after geese
 Gore-in, Gore-with *v.* to believe in, to trust
 Gossips *s.* sponsors; Gossiping the festivities of the christening
 Gout *s.* a drain, a gutter
 Gowder *s.* a higgler of fruit
 Grainded, Grainted *adj.* ingrained, dirty
 Granfer, Grammer *s.* grandfather. grandmother
 Granfer griggles *s.* wild orchis
 Gribble *s.* a young apple tree raised from seed
 Grig *v.* and *s.* to pinch, a pinch
 Griddle, Girdle *s.* a gridiron
 Gripe, or Grip *s.* a small drain or ditch *v.* to cut into gripes
 Grizzle *v.* to laugh or grin
 Gronin *s.* labour, childbirth; Gronin-chair nursing chair;
 Gronin-malt provision for the event

Ground *s.* a field, a piece of land enclosed for agricultural purposes

Grozens, Groves *s.* duck-weed

Gruff, Gruff-hole *s.* a trench or groove excavated for ore

Gruffer, Gruffier *s.* a miner, one who works in a gruff or groove

Gumpy *adj.* abounding in protuberances

Gurds *s.* eructations; **Fits and Gurds** fits and starts

Gurl, or Gurdle *v.* to growl

Gush *v.* to put the blood in quicker motion by fright or surprise, ex. A' gied I sich a gush

Guss *v.* and *s.* to gird, a girth

Gurt *adj.* great

Hack *s.* the place where bricks newly-made are arranged to dry

Hack, Hacket, Hick, Heck *v.* to hop on one leg, to play hackety oyster, hopscotch, or hack-shell

Hacker *v.* to chatter with the cold, to stammer

Hackle *s.* a good job

Hag-mal *s.* a slattern, a titmouse

Hag-rided *adj.* subject to night-mare

Hag-ropes traveller's joy, wild clematis (A S *Hage*, a hedge)

Hain *v.* to let up grass for mowing

Halfen-deal *s.* moiety *adj.* composed of different materials

Half-strain *adj.* mongrel, half-witted

Halipalmer *s.* the palmer-worm, (holy-palmer)

Hallantide *s.* All Saints' Day, (hallow-eeen-tide)

Halse *s.* hazel; halse coppice

Halsen, Hawseny, Noseny, Osney *v.* to divine, predict, forebode (A S *halsen*, from the hazel divining rod)

Halve, or Helve *v.* to turn over, to turn upside down

Ham *s.* an open field, usually near a river: on Mendip, old calamine pits

Hame *v.* "rem habere" (A S *haman*)

Hames, Heamsies *s.* parts of harness

Hang-fair, Hanging-vayer *s.* an execution

Hanch *v.* to gore as a bull

Hangles, (a pair of hangles) *s.* a pot or kettle-rack suspended over the fire

Hank *s.* dealings with

Happer *v.* to crackle, rattle like hail

Hard *adj.* full grown, as hard stock, or sheep; a **Hardboy** a boy of about 13 years old

Harr *s.* the part of a gate which holds the hinges, ex. Heads and harrs

Hart *s.* haft, or handle as of knives, awls

Hat, or **Het** *pret. of v.* to hit

Hathe *s.* to be in hathe, *i.e.*, to be thickly covered with pustules, to be closely matted together

Haydigees, (g hard and soft) *s.* high spirits

Hay-sucker *s.* the white-throat

Hayty-tayty seesaw, also *interj.* what's here!

Hay-ward *s.* pound-keeper, a keeper of hedges or hays (A S *hæig-weard*)

Hedge-bore *s.* a rough workman

Heel, **Hell** *v.* to pour out or in, hence **Heel-taps**

Heel *v.* to hide, to cover (A S *helan*)

Heeler *s.* one who hides or covers Proverb: The heeler is as bad as the stealer

Heft *s.* and *v.* weight, to lift up, from *v.* to heave

Hegler, or **Higler** *s.* an egg or fowl collector and dealer

Hellier *s.* a tiler, one who covers

Hel'm *s.* haulm of wheat, beans, peas, potatoes (A S *healm*)

Hem *pron.* he or him, ex. If hem had hat hem as hem hat hem, hem 'oud a kill'd hem or hem 'oud a kill'd hem

Hen *v.* to throw, see **Aine**

Hen-hussey *s.* a meddling officious person, a woman who looks after poultry

Hent, or **Hint** *v.* to wither or dry up

Hern, **His'n** *pron.* her's, his

Herret *s.* a pitiful little wretch

Hevel-twine *s.* a fine sort of twine

- Hike off** *v.* to steal away sily, to skulk off
Hirddick, Ruddick *s.* robin, ruddock
Hird-in, Hird-out *v.* to remove one's goods Transp. for rid
Hirn, Hurn, Hirnd *v. pret. and part.* to run (A S *yrnan*)
Hive, or Heave *v.* to urge in vomiting
Hizy-prizy *s.* Nisi-prius
Hoak *v.* to goar as an ox
Hob *v.* to laugh loudly *s.* a clown
Hob *s.* a cheek of a grate
Hod *s.* a sheath, a cover
Hoddy *adj.* hearty
Hog, Hogget *s.* a sheep or horse one-year old
Hogo *s.* strong savour or smell (Fr. *haut gout*)
Holders *s.* fangs of a dog
Holmen *adj.* made of holm or holly, as **Holmen Clavel** a holly mantle piece
Holme-screech *s.* the missel-thrush, from its eating the berries of the holly or holme tree
Homany *s.* a noise, disturbance
Home-to *adv.* up to
Honey-suck *s.* red clover
Hoop *s.* a bullfinch, ex. Cock-hoop, hen-hoop
Hoppet *v.* to hop
Hornen, Harnin *adj.* made of horn
Horse-godmother *s.* a masculine woman
Houzen *s.* houses
Hove *v. and s.* to hoe, ex. To hove banes, hove turmits with an auld hove
How *v.* to long for
Huck-muck *s.* strainer over the faucet
Hud *s.* as of gooseberry, the skin, hull, husk
Huf-cap *s.* a weed commonly found in fields
Hug *s.* the itch
Hulden *v.* to conceal, harbour
Hulley, or Holley *s.* a basket-trap for eels

Hull *v.* to hurl

Hum-drum *s.* a three-wheeled cart

Hūmacks *s.* wild-briar stocks on which to graff roses

Ich (soft), *pron.* I 'Cham I am; 'Ch'ool I will; 'Ch'ood I would, &c.

Idleton *s.* an idle fellow

Infaring *adj.* lying within, as an infaring tithing, *i.e.*, a tithing within a borough

Insense *v.* to inform

Ire *s.* iron, "ire or mire" said of stiff clay soil

Ire-gaer *s.* iron work or gear

Ize *pr.* I, *ex.* Ize warrant you wunt

Jib *s.* the wooden stand for a barrel

Jigger *s.* a vessel of potter's ware used in toasting cheese

Jitch, Jitchy, Jissy *adj.* such, *ex.* Jitch placen, such places

Joan-in-the-wad *s.* will-of-the-wisp

Jonnick *adv.* fair, straight-forward

Jot *v.* to disturb in writing, to strike the elbow

Junket *s.* curds and cream with spices and sugar, &c., from Ital. *giuncata*, cased in rushes; from *giunco*, a rush; a name given in Italy to a kind of cream-cheese

Kamics, Kramics *s.* rest-harrow

Keamy *adj.* covered with a thin white mould; applied to cider

Kecker, Kyecker-pipe } the wind-pipe, a pervious pipe, from
Kyecker, Kyeck-horn } *kike* to look through

Keeve, or Kive *s.* a large tub used in brewing or cider making *v.* to put the wort or cider in a keeve to ferment

Keep *s.* a large basket

Keffel *s.* a bad, worn-out horse (Welsh, *Keffyl*)

Kern *v.* to coagulate as milk; also applied to fruit and wheat becoming visible after the blossoming

Kex, Kexy *s.* dry, pervious stalks, as of cow-parsley and hemlock **Kexies**, see **Kecker**

Kid *s.* a pod **To Kiddy** *v.* *ex.* They do kiddy, but they don't villy

- Kilter** *s.* money
Kircher *s.* caul, used by butchers
Kittle, or Kettle-Smock *s.* a carter's frock
Knap *s.* a rising ground
Knee-sick *adj.* applied to corn when the stalk is not strong enough to bear the ear
Knottle *v.* to entangle with knots
Knottlins *s.* the intestines of a pig prepared for food
Knot *s.* flower-bed
Knot-Sheep *s.* sheep without horns
Kowetop *s.* the barm which rises above the rim of the tub
Kurpy, Kerp *v.* to speak affectedly; scold (*Lat. increpare*)
Labber *v.* to loll out the tongue
Lades, or Ladeshrides *s.* the sides of a waggon which project over the wheels
Ladies-smock *s.* bindweed *Convolvulus sepium, Cardamine pratensis*
Lady-Cow *s.* lady-bird *Coccinella septempunctata*
Laiter *s.* the whole number of eggs laid by a hen before she becomes broody, *ex.* She 've laaid out her laiter
Lamiger *s.* lame, a cripple
Lar *s.* bar of a gate
Larks-lees, Leers *v.* neglected lands
Lart, Lawt *s.* a loft, as cock-lart, hay-lart, apple-lart
Lary, Leary, Lear *adj.* empty, thin *s.* flank; **Lear-quills**, small quills
Las-chargeable *interj.* be quiet! *i.e.*, he who last speaks or strikes in contention is most to blame
Lāt, or Lart *s.* a lath, *ex.* Lartin nails
Lāt *s.* shelf
Latitat *s.* a noise or scolding
Lattin-sheet *s.* iron-tinned; also as *adj.* made of tin, as a **Lattin Saucepan**
Lave *v.* to throw water from one place to another; to gutter, as a candle
Lay-field *s.* a piece laid down to grass

- Lea, Leaze, Leers** *s.* an open pasture field
Leapy, Lippary *s.* wet, rainy weather
Learn, Larn *v.* to teach, ex. Who larned 'e thay tricks
Leathern-bird, Leather-wing *s.* the bat
Ledge *v.* lay hands on; to lay eggs
Lent-lilies *s.* daffodils
Lescious *ex.* She is lescious of a place, *i.e.*, knows of it
 and thinks it may suit
Levers *s.* a species of rush or sedge
Levvy *s.* a level (Fr. *levée*)
Lew, Lewth, Lewthy shelter, sheltered, lee-side
Libbets *s.* tatters; *little-bits*
Lidden *s.* a story, a song (Ger. *lied*)
Lief, Leaf *v.* leave; *ex.* I would as lief
Ligget *s.* a rag
Lijon *s.* the main beam of a ceiling
Lip, or Lippen *s.* applied to certain vessels, as **Ley-lip, Seed-lip, Bee-lippen** bee-hive (Wiclif's Test.: Leten hym
 down in a *lepe* be the wall Acts ix. 25)
Limmers, Limbers *s.* the shafts of a waggon or cart
Linch *v.* a ledge, hence "linch-pin" (A S *hlinc*)
Linney, Linhay *s.* an open shed
Lirp *v.* to limp
Lirripy *adj.* slouching
Lissom *a.* lithesome, active, supple
Lissum, or Lism *s.* a narrow slip of anything
Locking-bone *s.* the hip joint
Long-tailed Capon *s.* the long-tailed titmouse
Lug *s.* a pole; a measure of land, perch or rod
Lug-lain *s.* full measure
Lumper-scrump *s.* cow-parsnip *Heracleum sphondylium*
Lurdin *s.* a sluggard (Fr. *lourd*)
Lizzom *s.* a shade of colour in heavy bread, or in a mow
Mace *s.* pl. acorns, mast

- Macky-moon** *s.* a man who plays the fool
Maethe (th soft) sweet as meathe (Welsh *Medd*, mead)
Maggems, Maay-geams *s.* May games, larking
Magne *adj.* great
Make-wise *v.* to pretend
Manchet *s.* a kind of cake eaten hot
Mandy *adj.* and *v.* haughty, domineering **Commandy**
Mang *v.* to mix
Mang-hangle *adj.* and *s.* mixed-up in a confused mass
Math *s.* a litter of pigs
Maules *s.* measles
May-bug *s.* cockchafer
Mawkin (maäking) an oven swab; scare-crow; a bundle of rags
Mawn *s.* a basket (A S *mand*)
Maze-house *s.* madhouse
Mazy *adj.* mad, ex. I be mooast maazed; a mazy ould vool
Mear, Mear-stone boundary (A S *meare*)
Meat-weer *adj.* applied to land capable of producing food that is good, fit to eat; applied to peas, beans, &c.
Meg *s.* the mark at which boys play pitch and toss
Meg's, or Maggotts Diversions *s.* rattling or wanton fun
Meg-with-the-wad *s.* will o' the wisp
Melander *s.* a row (Fr. *meleé*)
Me'll *v.a.* to meddle, touch; ex. I'll neither mell nor make; I ont mell o't, *i.e.*, I will not touch it
Mesh *s.* moss; lichen on apple-trees
Mesh *s.* a hare's creep or run *v.* to run through the same
Mess, Messy *v.* to serve cattle with hay *s.* **Messin**
Mid, Med *v.* might, ex. Nor zed a mid; midst, medst, ex. Thou medst if wouldst
Midgerim *s.* mesentery
Mid'n might not, ex. I mid or I mid'n
Mig in the same sense
Milemas *s.* Michaelmas

- Mind** *v.* to remember
Misky form of misty
Miz-maze *s.* confusion
Mog *v.* to decamp, march off
Mooch *v.* to stroke down gently
Mood *s.* the mother of vinegar
Mole *s.* higher part of the back of the neck
Mommacks *s.* pl. fragments, scraps
Mommick, Mommet *s.* a scarecrow (Wiclif's N. Test. : "a sacrifice to the *mawmet*" Act vii. 41)
Moocher, Mooching, Meecher *s.* one who skulks; absents himself from school
Moor-coot *s.* a moor-hen
More *s.* a root
Moot *v.* to root up *s.* **Mooting-axe**
Moot *s.* that portion of a tree left in the ground after it has been felled
Mop *s.* tuft of grass
More, Morey *v.n.* to take root; applied to trees
Mother, Mothering *s.* white mould in beer or cider
Mothering-Sunday *s.* midlent Sunday, probably from the custom of visiting the mother-churches during that season
Mought for might *aux. verb*
Mouse-snap *s.* a mouse-trap
Mouster *v.* to stir, to be moving
Mow-staddle *s.* a conical stone with a flat circular cap, used for the support of a mow or stack of corn
Muddy-want *s.* a mole
Mullin *s.* metheglin
Mumper, Mump, Mumping a beggar, to beg
Nacker *s.* a nag
Nagging *adj.* applied to continued aching pain, as toothache; also, teasing with reproaches
Nammet, or Nummet *s.* luncheon; a short meal between breakfast and dinner **Noon-meat**
Nan, Anan *interj.* Eh! what? (Shakes.)

- Nap** *s.* a small rising, a hillock
Nä-poäst *s.* gnaw-post, a fool.
Narn, or Norn *pron.* neither, ex. Narn on's
Nasten *v.a.* to render nasty
Nathely *adv.* nearly, as a baby is nathely pining away
Nâunt *s.* aunt
Nawl *s.* navel; **Nawl-cut** a term used by butchers
Neel, Neeld *s.* a needle (Shaks. Mid. N. Dr. iii. 2)
Nesh, Naish *adj.* tender, delicate (A S *hnesc*)
Nestle-tripe *s.* the poorest bird in the nest; weakest pig in the litter; puny child
Never-the-near to no purpose
Newelty *s.* novelty
Nickle *v.n.* to move hastily along in an awkward manner
adj. beaten down, applied to corn
Nicky, Nicky-wad *s.* a small fagot of thorns
Niddick *s.* the nape of the neck
Nif *conj.* if and if
'Nighst, Noist *prep.* nigh, near
Ninny-watch *s.* a longing desire
Nippigang, Nimpingang *s.* a whitlew
Nitch *s.* a burden, a fagot of wood
Nix *v.* to impose on, to nick
Northern, Northering *adj.* incoherent, foolish
Nosset *s.* a dainty dish such as is fit for a sick person
'Nottamy *s.* applied to a man become very thin (anatomy)
Nug *s.* unshapen piece of timber, a block
Nug-head *s.* a blockhead
Nuncle *s.* uncle *v.a.* to cheat
Nurt, or Nort nothing (w. of Parret)
Nüthen *s.* a great stupid fellow
Oak-web (wuck-ub) *s.* cock-chaffer, may-bug
Oak-wuck *s.* the club at cards
Oaves *s.* the eaves of a house

- Odments *s. pl.* odd things, offals
 Oh *v.* to long greatly
 Old-man's-Beard *s.* clematis
 Old-rot *s.* cow-parsnip (*heracleum*)
 Onlight *v.n.* to alight from on horse-back
 Oól will o'ot wilt o'ot'n't wilt not
 Ope *s.* an opening
 Open-erse *s.* a medler (A S *open-ærs*), a fruit used medicinally
 Ordain *v.* to purpose
 Orloge *s.* a clock (horologe)
 Or'n *pron.* either, ex. O'rm o'm, either of them
 Ort *pron.* aught, anything
 Orts *s.* scraps, leavings
 Oseny, or Osening *v.* to forbode, predict (A S *wisian*)
 Ourn ours
 Out-ax'd *part.* to have the bands fully published
 Out-faring *s.* lying outside the borough
 Over-get *v. a.* to overtake
 Over-look *v. a.* to bewitch
 Over-right (auver-right) *adv.* opposite
 Ovvers *s. pl.* over-hanging bank of rivers, edge of rivers (A S *ofer*)
 Pair-of-Stairs *s.* a staircase with two landings
 Pallee *adj.* broad, as pallee-foot, pallee-paw
 Palme *s.* catkins of the willow (*salix caprea*)
 Pame *s.* the mantle thrown over an infant who is going to be Christened
 Panchard-night *s.* Shrove-Tuesday night
 Pank *v.* to pant
 Papern *adj.* made of paper
 Parget *v. a.* to plaster the inside of a chimney with mortar made of cow-dung and lime
 Parrick *s.* a paddock
 Paumish *adj.* handling awkwardly

- Pautch, Pontch** *v.* to tread in mire
Payze, 'Pryze *v.* to upraise with a lever (Fr. *peser*)
Päart *adj.* brisk
Pease *v.* to run out in globules
Peasen *s. pl.* of pea *adj.* made of peas, ex. Peasen-pudding
Peazer *s.* a lever
Peek, Peeky, Peekid *adj.* pinched in face by indisposition
Peel *s.* a pillow
Pen, Penning, Pine, Cow-pine *s.* an enclosed place in which cattle are fed
Pen *s.* a spigot
Pick, Peckis *s.* pick-axe
Pick, Peek *s.* hay-fork
Pigs *s.* pixies, fairies, as in the common saying, "Please God and the pigs"
Pig's-hales *s.* hawes
Pig's-looze *s.* pig's-sty
Pilch, Pilcher *s.* a baby's woollen clout
Pill *s.* a pool in a river
Pill-coal *s.* peat from a great depth
Pillow-tie, Pillow-beer *s.* pillow-case
Pilm, Pillum *s.* dust
Pin, Pin-bone *s.* the hip
Pind, Pindy *adj.* fusty, as corn or flour
Pin'd *adj.* applied to a saw which has lost its pliancy
Pine, Pwine, Pwining-end, and Pwointing-end *s.* the gable-end of a house
Pinions *s. p.* the refuse wool after combing (Fr. *peigner*)
Pink-twink *s.* chaffinch
Pinswheal, Pinswil, Pensil *s.* a boil with a black head
Pirl, Pirdle *v.* to spin as a top
Pix, Pex, or Pixy *v.* to pick up fruit, as apples or walnuts, after the main crop is taken in
Pixy *s.* a fairy **Pixy-stool** *s.* toad-stool
Planch *s.* **Planchant** *adj.* a wood floor (Fr. *planche*)

Plazen *s. pl.* places

Plim, Plum *v. n.* to swell, to increase in bulk, as soaked peas or rice

Plough *s.* a team of horses; also a waggon and horses, or a waggon and oxen

Plough-path *s.* bridle-path

Plud *s.* the swamp surface of a wet ploughed field

Pock-fretten, Pock-fredden *adj.* marked with small-pox

Pog *v.* to push, to thrust with a fist

Pomice, Pummice, Pummy, or Pummy-Squat *s.* apples pounded for making cider (Fr. *pomme*)

Pomple *adj.* responsible, trustworthy

Pompster, or Pounster *v.* to tamper with a wound, or disease, without knowledge or skill in medicine

Ponted *adj.* bruised, particularly applied to fruit, as a ponted apple

Pooch *v.* to pout

Pook *s.* the stomach, a vell

Pook *s.* a cock of hay

Popple *s.* a pebble

Porr *v.* to stuff or cram with food

Pot-waller *s.* one whose right to vote for a member of Parliament is based on his having a fire-place whereon to boil his own pot, as at Taunton

Pound-house *s.* house for cider-making

Prey *v.* to drive the cattle into one herd in a moor, which is done twice a year (*i. e.*, at Lady-day and at Michaelmas), with a view to ascertain whether any person has put stock there without a right to do it

Proud-tailor *s.* gold-finch

Pulk, or Pulker *s.* a small pool of water

Pumple, or Pumple-foot *s.* club-foot

Pur, or Pur-hog *s.* a one-year-old male sheep

Purt *v.* to pout, to be sullen

Puskey *adj.* short-breathed, wheezing

Putt *s.* a manure cart with two or three broad wheels

- Puxy** *s.* a slough, a muddy place
Pyer *s.* a hand-rail across a wooden bridge (Fr. *s'apuyer*)
Quar *v.* to coagulate—applied to milk in the breast
Quarrel, Quarrey *s.* a pane of glass
Quat *adj.* full, satisfied
Queane *s.* a little girl, a term of endearment
Queest, Quisty *s.* a wood-pigeon or blue-rock A quarish
 queest *s.* a queer fellow
Quilled, or Queeled *adj.* withered, as grass
Quine *s.* a corner (Fr. *coin*)
Quirk, Quirky *v.* to complain, to groan, grunt
Quat, or Aquat *adj.* sitting flat, like a bird on its eggs
 to quat *v. n.* to squat (It. *quatto*)
Qwerk *s.* the clock of a stocking
Rade, or Rede *s.* part of the tripe or stomach of a bullock,
 the maw
Raening *adj.* thin, applied to cloth
Raft-up *v.* to disturb from sleep
Rain-pie *s.* woodpecker, yuckle
Rake *v. n.* to rouse up
Rally *v.* to scold
Ram *v.* to lose, by throwing a thing beyond reach
Rammel *adj.* (raw milk), applied to cheese made of un-
 skimmed milk
Rams-claws *s. p.* crow's foot
Rampsing *adj.* tall
Range *s.* a sieve
Rangle *v.* to twine, move in a sinuous manner
Rangling Plants *s.* such as entwine round other plants, as
 hops, woodbine
Rap *v.* to exchange
Rape *v.* to scratch
Rare *adj.* raw, or red, as meat
Rasty, Rusty *adj.* rancid, gross, obscene
Ratch *v.* to stretch

Rathe, Rather early, soon Milton: "the rathe prim-rose"

Rathe-ripe *s.* an early kind of apple; also a male or female that arrives at full maturity before the usual age

Raught *part.* and *past tense* reached, ex. E' raught down his gun

Rawn *v. a.* to devour greedily

Rawning-knife *s.* the large knife with which butchers clear their meat; cleaver

Rawny *adj.* thin, meagre

'**Ray** *v. a.* to dress **Unray** to undress

Read, Reed *v.* to strip the fat from the intestines

Readship, or Retchup, Rechip, Rightship *s.* truth, dependence, trustworthiness

Ream *v. a.* to widen, to open, to stretch *s.* an instrument or tool for widening a hole (generally used for metals)
v. n. to bear stretching **Reamy** *adj.*

Reams, Rames *s. pl.* the dead stalks of potatoes, &c.; skeleton (Query **Remains**)

Re-balling *s.* the catching of ells with earthworms (yeasses) attached to a ball of lead

Reed *s.* wheat-straw prepared for thatching (w. of Parret)

Reen, or Rhine *s.* watercourse, or dyke; an open drain

Reeve *v. n.* to shrivel up, to contract into wrinkles

Remlet *s.* a remnant

Reneeg *v.* to withdraw from an engagement (Lat. *renegare*) (Shaksp. Ant. and Cleop. i. 5)

Rere-Mouse *s.* a bat (A S *hrere-mus*)

Revel-twine *s.* same as Hevel-twine

Revesse *s.* the burden of a song, from *vessey*, *v.* to make verses

Rew *s.* row *v.* to put grass in rows

Rexen *s. p.* rushes (A S *rixen*)

Rip *v.* to rate or chide

Riscous applied to bread imperfectly baked

Robin-riddick, or Ruddock *s.* redbreast

Roddicks, Roddocks *s.* ex. Off the roddocks, as a cart off the grooves of the axle

Rode *v. n.* to go out to shoot wild fowl which pass over head on the wing early at night or in the morning; also applied to the passage of the birds themselves, ex. The woodcocks' rode

Roe-briar *s.* the large dog-rose briar

Roller, Rawler, Brawler *s.* a bundle of reed, ex. As weak as a rawler

Rompstal *s.* a rude girl

Ronge *v.* to gnaw, to devour (Fr. *ronger*)

Room, Rhume *s.* scurf of the scalp

Root-chains *s.* main plough chains

Roozement *s.* a slip or falling-in of earth

Ropy *adj.* wine or other liquor is ropy when it becomes thick and coagulated; also bread when a kind of second fermentation takes place in warm weather

Rose *v. n.* to drop out from the pod or other seed-vessel when the seeds are over ripe

Rose, Rooze-in *v.* to fall in, as the upper part of a quarry, or well

Round-dock *s.* the common mallow

Rouse-about *adj.* big, unwieldly

Rout *v.* to snore

Rowless *adj.* roofless **A Rowless Tenement** an estate without a house

Rowsse *v.* to rush out with a great noise

Rozzim, Rozzums *s.* quaint sayings, low proverb

Ruck *v.* to couch down

“What is mankind more unto you yhold
Than is the shepe that rouketh in the fold.”

(Chaucer, Knight's Tale)

Rudderish *adj.* rude, hasty

Ruge *v. n.* to hang in folds, to wrinkle (Lat. *rugæ*)

Rungs, Rongs *s. pl.* the rounds of a ladder, also of a chair

Rushen *adj.* made of rushes

Sand-tot *s.* sand-hill

Sape *s.* sap of trees, juice of fruit **Sapey** *adj.* as fruit-tart

Sar, Sarve *v.* to earn wages

Scad *s.* a sudden and brief shower

Scamblin *s.* irregular meal

Scarry-whiff *adv.* askew

Scorse, Squoace, Squiss *v.* to exchange, barter

“ And there another, that would needsly scorse

A costly jewel for a hobby-horse ”

(Drayton's Moon Calf)

Scottle *v.* to cut into pieces wastefully

Scourge-mettle *s.* the instrument with which a boy whips his top

Scovin, Scubbin *s.* the neck and breast of lamb

Scrambed, Shrambed *adj.* deprived of the use of some limb by a nervous contraction of the muscles; benumbed with cold

Scrint *v.* to scorch, singe; also to shrink a good deal in burning, as leather, silk, &c.

Scun *v.* to reproach with the view of exposing to contempt or shame (A *S scunian*, to shun, avoid)

Scurrick, Scurrig *s.* any small coin, a mere atom; ex. I havn't a scurrick left

Scute *s.* a sum of money, a gratuity, the impress on ancient money, from *scutem*, a shield. So *ecu*, Fr., a crown; shilling, from A *S scild*, a shield. Chaucer uses *shildes* for *ecus*, *i.e.*, crowns

Seam *s.* a horse-load (A *S seam*)

Seed-lip *s.* a sower's seed basket

Seem, Zim *v.* to think, to be of opinion; ex. I do zim, or zim t' I

Seltimes *adv.* seldom

Sense *v.* to understand

Seven-sleeper *s.* dormouse

Shab *s.* itch or mange in brutes *adj.* Shabby

Shaff-Tuesday *s.* Shrove-Tuesday

Shalder *s.* rush, sedge growing in ditches

Sham *s.* a horse-hoe

- Share, Sheare** *s.* the quantity of grass cut at one harvest, a crop
- Sharps** *s.* shafts of a cart
- Shaul** *v.* to shell, to shed the first teeth
- Shaw** *v.* to scold sharply
- Sheen** *adj.* bright, shining
- Sheer** *s.* a sheath, *ex.* Scissis-sheer
- Shelving-stone** *s.* a blue tile or slate for covering the roofs of houses
- Shod** *part. of v. to shed* *ex.* No use crying for shod milk
- Showl** *s.* for shovel
- Shrig** *v. a.* to shroud or trim a tree
- Shrowd, Shride** *s.* loppings of trees
- Shuckning** *adj.* shuffling
- Shut** *v.* to weld iron
- Shuttles, Shittles** *s.* floodgates
- Sife, Sithe** *v. and s.* to sigh
- Sig** *s.* urine (*Dutch v. zeyeken*)
- Silch, Sulch** *v.* to soil, daub
- Silker** *s.* a court-card
- 'Sim t' I** it seems to me
- Simlin** *s.* a kind of fine cake intended for toasts
- Sin, Sine** *conj.* since, because
- Sinegar** *s.* the plant stocks
- Singlegus** *s.* the orchis
- Skag** *s.* a rent, tear, wound
- Skenter, Skinter** *adj.* relaxed, as applied to oxen
- Skiff-handed** *adj.* awkward
- Skiffle** *s.* as to make a skiffle, to make a mess of any business
- Skiffling** *s.* the act of whittling a stick
- Skilly** *s.* oatmeal porridge
- Skimps** *s.* the scales and refuse of flax
- Skimmerton-riding** *s.* the effigy of a man or woman unfaithful to marriage vows carried about on a pole accompanied by rough music from cows'-horns and frying-pans. Formerly it consisted of two persons riding on a horse back to back, with *ladles* and *marrow-bones* in hand, and was intended to ridicule a hen-pecked husband

- Skir** *v.* skim, mow lightly, as thistles
Skir-devil *s.* a black martin, swift
Skirrings *s.* hay made in pasture lands from the long grass left by the cattle
Skitty *s.* a water-rail
Skitty-vamps *s.* laced half boots
Skred, Skride *v.* to stride
Slat, Slate *v.* to split, crack, crumble
Slate *s.* a sheep-run **Slated** *adj.* accustomed to, contented
Slerib *s.* a spare rib of pork
Sley for "as lief," ex. I would sley do it as not
Sliden, Slidder, Slither *v.* to slide
Sliver *s.* a thin slice
Slock *v.* to encourage the servants of other people to pilfer
Slooen *adj.* of sloe, ex. A slooen tree
Slop *adj.* loose (Dutch *slap*)
Slope *v. n.* to decay, rot, as pears and potatoes
Smitch, Smit, Smeech *s.* smut, or fine dust
Snag *s.* a tooth standing alone; a small sloe
Snag-blowth *s.* the blossom of the black-thorn
Snake-leaves *s.* ferns
Snap-jack *s.* stitch-wort (*stellaria holostea*)
Snare *s.* the gut or string stretched tightly across the lower head of a drum
Snell, or Snull *s.* a short thick stick about 4 inches long, called a "cat," used in the game called cat and dog
Sneyd *s.* the crooked handle of a scythe
Snicker, Snigger *v.* to laugh in an insulting way
Snoach *v.* to snuffle, to speak through the nose
Snoffer *s.* a sweetheart (Dutch *snoffen*, to sigh)
Snool *v.* to smear anything by rubbing the nose and mouth over it (Dutch *snavel*, a snout)
Snop *s.* a sharp blow
Soce, Zuez *s. pl. voc.* friends (Query *socii*)

Sog, or **Sug** *s.* a morass **Soggy** *adj.* boggy ; also as a verb, to be suggèd-out by the wet

Sowle *v.* to handle rudely, to hale or pull

“He'll go, he says, and sowle the porter of Rome gates by the ears”
(Shaks. Coriol. iv. 5)

Spane *s.* the prong of a fork

Sparceled, **Sparkéd**, **Spicotty** *adj.* speckled

Spar-gad *s.* sticks split to be used for thatching

Sparrables, **Spurbles** *s.* shoemaker's nails, ex. Sparrable boots

Spars *s.* twisted hazel or willow for thatching

Spawl *v.* to scale away *s.* a scale broken off from the surface of a stone

Speard *s.* spade

Spine *s.* the sward or surface of the ground ; the fat on the surface of a joint of meat

Spinnick *s.* **Spinnicking** *adj.* a person every way diminutive

Spittle *v.* to dig lightly between crops

Splat *s.* a row of pins as sold in paper

Sprack, **Spree**, **Spry** *adj.* nimble, alert, active

Sprackles *s. pl.* spectacles

Sprank *v.* to sprinkle with water **Spranker**, **Spreker** *s.* a watering-pot

Spreathed *adj.* said of skin harsh and dry with cold, but not chapped

Spried, **Spreed** *adj.* chapped with cold

Spounce *v.* to spatter with water

Spuddle *v.* to be uselessly or triflingly busy

Spur *v.* to spread abroad or scatter, as manure over a field
(Lat. *spargere*)

Squail *v.* to throw a short stick at anything **Squailer** *s.* the stick used in squirrel hunting

Squails *s.* nine-pins

Squap *v.* to sit down without any employment

Squatch *s.* a chink or narrow cleft

Squelstring *adj.* sultry

Squinny *v.* to squint “Dost thou squinny at me ?” (Shak. King Lear)

Squittee *v.* to squirt

Squoace, or **Squass** *v.* to truck or exchange

Staddle *s.* foundation of a rick of hay or corn, a mark left by a haycock, or anything allowed to remain too long in one place

Stag *s.* a castrated bull

Stagnated *adj.* astonished

Stang *s.* a long pole

Stap *v.* for to stop

Stare-basin, **Glow-basin** *s.* glow-worm

Stean *v.* to stone a road **Steaned** *part. s.* a large stone pitcher (Dutch *steen*)

“Upon an huge great earthpot stean he stood”
(Spenser, Faery Queene)

Steanin *s.* a stone-pitched ford

Steeve *v.* to dry, to stiffen (Dutch *styven*)

Stickle *s.* shallow rapids in a stream **Steep** *adj.* steep as a hill

Stitch *s.* a shock of corn, ten sheaves

Stive *v.* to keep close and warm

Stiver *s.* a bristling of the hair

Stocky *adj.* short, stumpy

Stodge *s.* thick slimy mud *adj.* miry; ex. “Pendummer, where the Devil was stodged in the midst of zummer”

Stodged *adj.* stuffed with eating

Stool *s.* the stock of a tree cut for underwood

Stoor, **Storr** *v.* to stir, move actively (Dutch *stooren*)

Stomachy *adj.* proud, haughty

Stout *s.* a gnat-fly

Strablet *s.* a long, narrow strip

Strame *s.* a streak, mark, trace *v.* to trace (Dutch *stram*)

Straw-mote *s.* a bit of straw

Strickle *adj.* steep as the roof of a house

Strod *s.* a leathern buskin worn by peasants

Strout *v.* to strut, stand out stiff

“Crowk was his hair, and as gold it shon
And strouted as a fan large and brode”

(Chaucer, Miller's Tale)

- Stub-shot** *s.* the portion of the trunk of a tree which remains when the tree is not sawn through
- Stun-pole** *s.* a stupid fellow
- Stwon** *s.* stone **Stwonen** *adj.*
- Suant** *adj.* even, regular, applied to rows of beans or corn ; grave as applied to the countenance (Fr. *suivant*)
- Sull** *s.* plough-share (A S *sul*)
- Suma** *s.* a small cup made of blue and white stoneware
- Surge** *v.* and *s.* to bear heavily on, impetuous force
- Swallow-pears** *s.* service-pears, sorb-apples
- Swāther, or Swother** *v.* to faint (A S *sweothrian*)
- Sweem** *v.* to swoon **Sweemy, Sweemish** *adj.* faint (Dutch *swim*)
- Sweet-harty** *v.* to court **Sweet-harting** *s.* courtship
- Swile** *s.* soil, also **Swoil-heap**
- Swill, Swell, Zwell** *v.* to swallow
- Tack** *s.* a shelf, bacon-rack **Clavy-tack** chimney-piece
- Taffety** *adj.* nice in eating
- Tallet** *s.* the space next the roof in out-houses (Welsh *tavlod*)
- Tame** *v.* to cut, to have the first cut (Fr. *entamer*)
- Tanbase** *s.* unruly behaviour
- Tan-day** *s.* the second day of a fair
- Tang** *s.* to tie ; that part of a knife which passes into the haft
- Tave** *v.* to throw the hands about wildly
- Tavering** *adj.* restless in illness
- Tawl-down** *v.* to strike or smooth down a cat's back
- Teak** *s.* a whitlow
- Teap** *s.* a point, peak
- Tëart** *adj.* sharp, sour, painful
- Ted** *v.* to turn hay or flax to dry **Ted-pole** the pole used for the purpose
- Teg** *s.* a last year's lamb not sheared
- Teem** *v.* to pour out
- Terrible** *adv.* intensitive, ex. Terrible good

Thic, Thick, Thicky-there, Thickumy, Thickumy-there *pron.*
that (Chaucer *thilk*)

Thiller *s.* the shaft horse

Thill-harness opposed to trace harness

Tho *adv.* then, ex. I couldn't go tho, but I went afterwards

Thong *v.* to stretch out into viscous threads or filaments

Thongy *adj.* viscid, ropy

Thornen *adj.* made of thorns

Thurt *v.* to thwart, to plough crossways

Thurt-handled *adj.* thwart-handled

Thurt-saw *s.* a thwart-saw, a cross-cut saw

Tilty *adj.* irritable, *i.e.*, easily tilt or lifted up

Timmern *adj.* wooden

Timmersom *adj.* timorous

Tine *v.* to light, ex. Tine the candle (root of tinder) *v.* a
tooth as of rake or spear (A S *tine*)

Tine-in *v.* to shut, to enclose **Tinings** *s.* enclosures (A S
tynan)

Tip-and-tail heels over head

Titty-todger *s.* a wren

To appended to adverbs, as where-to, to-home, to-year, to-
week, as to-day

Toak *v.* to soak

Toggers *s.* the handle-pieces of the scythe

Toke *v.* to glean apples

Toll *v.* to decoy, entice, ex. A bit o' cheese to toll down the
bread wi'

Toll-bird *s.* a decoy bird

Tongue, or Tonguey *v.* to talk immoderately

Tossity *adj.* drunken ('tossicated)

Tranter *s.* a carrier **Coal-tranter** a beggar

Trapes *s. v.* a slattern, to walk in the dirt

Trendle *s.* a brewer's cooler of an oval form

Trig *v.* to prop up *adj.* sound, firm, well in health, neat, tidy

Trig-to *v.* to open, set open, as a door

- Trill** *v.* to twirl
Trop *intj.* used by riders to excite a dull horse
Tuck *v.* to touch
Tucker *s.* a fuller, also **Tucking-mill**
Tun *s.* upper part of the chimney
Tunnegar *s.* a wooden funnel
Tup *s.* a ram
Turmets, Turmits *s.* turnips
Turve *s.* turf
Tut *s.* a hassock
Tutty *s.* flower **Tutty-more** flower-root
Tut-work, Tuck-work *s.* piece-work
"T'war it was
Twibill *s.* a sort of axe with bill of two forms
Twily *adj.* restless
Twink, or Pink *s.* a chaffinch
Twri-ripe, Twri-ripy *adj.* unequally ripe
Twistle, Twizzle *s.* that part of a tree where the branches divide from the stock
Under-creepin *adj.* sneaking
Ungain (from gain) unhandy
Unkit *et. id. adj.* lonely, dismal (A *S cwyde*, speech; *uncwyde*, solitary, having no one to speak to)
Unray *v.* to undress, ex. I do ston to ray, and I do ston to unray
Untang *v.* to untie
Up, Uppy *v.* to arise, to get up
Uppin-stock, Lighting-stock *s.* a horse-block
Uppings *s.* perquisites
Upsighted *s.* a defect of vision rendering a person unable to look down
Ur, Hur *pron.* he, she, or it
Urn, Hurn *v.* to run (A *S yrnan*)
Utchy *pron.* I (Ger. *ich*)
Vage, Vaze *v.* to move about or run in such a way as to agitate the air

- Wallet** *s.* brushwood, bramble-wood
Wamble, Wammel *v. n.* to move in an awkward manner, applied chiefly to machinery
Want, Wont *s.* a mole
Want-wriggle *s.* mole-track
War *v. pret. of the verb "to be"* I war, he war, we war, &c.
Wash-dish *s.* the wag-tail
Wassail *v.* drinking success to the apple crop
Way-zaltin *s.* a play in which two persons standing back to back interlace each others arms, and by bending forward alternately raise each other from the ground
Weepy *adj.* moist, abounding in springs
Welch-nut *s.* walnut (Ger. *welsche-nüss*)
Well *s.* a running spring, a source (Ger. *quelle*, as distinguished from a wenk or wink)
Weng *s.* the front rack of the sull
Wevet *s.* a spider's web
Whippences *s.* bodkins or swingle-bars of a plough
Whipper-snapper *s.* a little, active, nimble fellow
Whipswhiles *s.* a short interval, as between the strokes of a whip
Whister-twister *s.* a smart blow on the side of the head
Whiver *v.* to hover, to flutter **Whiver-minded** *adj.* wavering
Widow-man *s.* a widower
Wim *v.* to winnow **Wim-sheet, Wimmin-sheet, Wimmin-dust** *s.*
Windle, Windle-thrush *s.* red-wing
Wink *s.* an excavated or sunken well (Query supplied with a Winch ?)
Wipes *s.* faggots for draining or fencing
Wisht *adj.* sad, untoward
Without unless, except
Woek, Wuk *s.* oak
Weeks *s.* clubs on playing cards, from their shape
Wont-heeave, Want-snap *s.* a mole-hill, mole-trap
Wood-quist *s.* wood-pigeon, cushat

- Wood-wall *s.* woodpecker
 Worra *s.* part of the centre of the old spinning-wheel
 Wosberd, Whisbird, Whosbird *s.* a term of reproach
 Wrede *v.* to spread abroad, as wheat is said to wrede when
 several stalks shoot out of the ground from a single grain
 Wrick *v. s.* strain
 Wride *v. n.* to stretch, to expand
 Wring *s.* press, ex. A cider-wring
 Writh-hurdles *s.* plated hurdles
 Wrizzled, Wrizzly *adj.* shrivelled up, wrinkled
 Yails *s.* the uprights in hurdles
 Yal, Yalhouse, Yarm, Yel, &c. *s.* ale, alehouse, arm, eel, &c.
 Yap *v.* to yelp like a cur
 Yappingale, Yaffler, Yuckle *s.* woodpecker
 Yeass *s.* an earthworm *pl.* yeasses
 Yeo *s.* main drain of a level
 Yeth *s.* hearth Yeth-stone hearth-stone
 Yoak *s.* the grease in wool
 Yoaky *adj.* greasy, applied to wool as it comes from the sheep
 Yokes *s.* hiccups
 Yourn yours
 Yow *v.* to cut the stubble short, to cut with a hook
 Zam *v. a.* to heat for some time over a fire, but not to boil
 Zam-sod, Zam-sodden half baked
 Zand-tot *s.* sand hill
 Zâte *adj.* soft
 Zatenfare *s.* softish, a foolish fellow
 Zead *v.* for has seen
 Zëad *s.* seed Zëad-lip seed-lip
 Zenvy *s.* wild mustard
 Zinney *s.* sinews
 Zwail *v.* to move about the arms extended, and up and down
 Zwell *v.* to swallow
 Zwodder *s.* a drowsy and stupid state of body and mind
 Zwound *v.* to swoon

